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THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

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13. Oudh.	26. Berar.
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	28. Jubbulpur.

29. Madras Presidency.

NOTES.

A recent issue of the *Pioneer* of Allahabad contains an interesting article under the title "Cis-Indus Dangers", dealing with the condition of the landowners and the agricultural classes generally of the Punjaub. The writer alleges that these have many causes of dissatisfaction owing to the exactions of the money-lending class and the gradual alienation of the land from the hands of its former proprietors. The last Civil Justice Report of the province teems with references to the craft, forgeries, and deceits practised by money-lenders on their clients; and one of the most experienced and capable judicial officers in the Punjaub, himself a native Muhammadan, has not hesitated to express his opinion that the increasing transfer of land from the hands of its ancient proprietors constitutes a serious political danger. One circumstance which during the last few years seems to have depressed the condition of the peasantry is the enormous export of wheat. The great grain exporters have their agencies in important towns, and their sub-agencies are scattered throughout the country in all leading trade centres. The cultivator himself rarely stores his grain. When ready for the market he sells it to the trader, who formerly used to keep it stored up in mud granaries, or in huge pits dug in the ground. These stores have disappeared under the influence of a keen demand from the European market and high prices; there is very little grain kept in stock, and the money-lender is chary of parting with that. It is not the case now that he must either dispose of it or run the risk of its being destroyed. The increasing stringency in the terms of loans is a feature which is said to strike everyone who has moved about the country and studied the rural economy. Its effect is most grievous upon the menial classes and the poorer agriculturists. It has to some extent neutralised the advantages arising from improved communications. Another cause which has embittered the relation between agriculturists and the money-lending class, of late years, is the effect of recent decisions of the Chief Court tending to make the law more severe in its operations upon the debtor. It was formerly the rule that courts, presuming, from the unconscionable nature of the transaction, that an undue advantage had been obtained by the money-lender over his client, went behind the actual contract made and gave equitable relief to the debtor. The peasant-farmer of the Punjaub in his dealings with the money-lender is, in his experience, his want of education and worldly knowledge, on a par with the English minor or the confiding female. But recent local decisions take another view. Under the law as it was administered before, when a man of good family had, by his hopeless extravagance, shown himself unfit to manage his own affairs, the Deputy-Commissioner of the district took over the management of his property, made an equitable settlement with the creditors, and preserved the estate from ruin in the interests of the heirs. "It is in this way, by the increasing rigidity and diminished flexibility of our law as applied to tribes still rude and little advanced in modern ideas, that we are losing our hold upon the people, which loss of influence manifests itself in increased lawlessness. It is by the attitude of the tribes of the Western Punjaub that our success or failure in the coming struggle will largely be determined. It is little to their advantage that we have substituted a light and fixed assessment for the onerous and irregular demands of former rulers, if we allow our benefits to be neutralized by the exactions and oppression of a class which owes its existence to British rule. It is still time for us to make a change in our policy, but no half measures will be sufficient; what the Western Punjaub requires to make it loyal and contented, to make its manhood as devoted to us as when Sir Herbert Edwards led them in 1848 against Mooltan, is a revision of the land administration, and the introduction of drastic reforms to restore prosperity to the old land-owning classes."

"The millions of starvelings keep up their grim procession from birth to death." In this striking metaphor does the *Madras Times*, of September 15th, describe the condition of a large proportion of the people of India. "Some day," says our contemporary, "England must open her eyes to the fact that, as regards many of the two hundred and fifty millions of her Indian subjects, she is much in the position of a nurse in charge of a convalescent patient. Every year, and all the year, there are millions of men and women living and moving, and having their being, on the barest allowance of nourishment upon which the functions of vitality can be discharged. There are millions who, from the day they are born to their enfeebled child-mothers, until they sink into their premature graves, never know what it is to have the sufficiency of food which alone can give a race stamina. They exist on the verge of slow starving to death—the feeblest folk perhaps that the world knows—and when an epidemic comes, or a famine, they are dead before their stronger fellow-creatures would have begun to feel the first symptoms of weakness. The problem how to alter this state of things is the most difficult of solution that the civilised world can show. The policy England has blundered upon, rather than devised, may possibly prove in the long run the best that could have been adopted. The numerical proportion of governed to governing precludes the idea of the parental tyranny which would have been one way of dealing with the difficulties presented,—parental in its gifts, tyrannous in its restrictions, England could not afford the money to give these millions food, nor men to teach a change of customs. So the idea of making *sana* the poor *corpora* had to be abandoned for

indefinite generations, and an attempt made to give each subject race the *mens sana* of an enlightened public opinion. We hope for the best, but, whilst the lakhs spent on education mount up to crores, the millions of starvelings keep up their grim procession from birth to death, ever swelling the measure of England's responsibility." Since 1883, at least, the Government of India have been aware of this condition of things: Lord Cross, during a period of profound calm in Indian affairs, has known what the *Madras Times* describes; neither at Calcutta or Simla, nor in the India Office, has any real attempt been made to grapple with so scandalous a condition of things. Condemnation lies heavily upon Secretary of State, Viceroy, Councils, and, above all, upon the British Parliament, for the supineness exhibited by one and all.

A lecture, entitled "Recent Progress and Competition in India," was recently delivered in the Memorial Hall at Manchester, by Mr. Daniel O'Gorman. The lecture was founded on personal experience and observation of commerce in India. Mr. O'Gorman had a good deal to say on German competition with Britain throughout the East. The following passage, which we take from a report in the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, may be profitably pondered by all connected with the commerce of India, whether East or West of Suez:—"It was widely recognised by travellers in the East that German competition, in its trading branches—a competition keener than that of its manufactures—was rampant from the Persian Gulf to the north of Nippon, and in India it was working us an amount of prejudice from the enduring effects of which none but our strongest efforts, and a radical change of methods, could serve to protect us. Whilst Young Germany studied the possibilities offered by India for commercial victories, the attention of Young England was engaged in the side issue, so to speak, of his own social improvement. Affairs had thus progressed until at last a thorn had been planted in the sides of British merchants which must burrow deeper unless strong measures were employed to arrest its onward course. A monopoly of Indian trade was a thing of the past, but the means which had contributed to the establishment of German influence in that country were open to adoption by the rest of the world. A great advantage of the German system of preparing youths for foreign commerce was that it prevented those abominable exhibitions of brutal contempt and intolerance, which too frequently distinguished our intercourse with Indians, whose education became more advanced day by day, and who were often the intellectual superiors of those by whom they were so grossly abused. Insignificant orders of a troublesome kind, immediately declined without thanks by English commercial travellers in that country, were conditionally accepted by the German traveller with the grace and attention with which he received his more important commissions. For the sake of a profitable trade, which might follow upon the satisfactory execution of such orders, the German merchant or manufacturer was no less assiduous than his representative in the care bestowed upon them, and thus Indian prejudices against England grew apace."

Sir William Wedderburn never loses an opportunity of saying a good word on behalf of India or of enlightening the British people on Indian problems while at the same time inducing an interest in Indian concerns. A short time ago he delivered an address at Lydney, an important centre in the Forest of Dean, Gloucester. At the conclusion of the address the chairman (the President of the Lydney Liberal Association) moved the following resolution which was unanimously agreed to:—"That this meeting heartily sympathises with the Indian people in their desire to have their voice heard in the management of Indian affairs, and supports their prayer that the elective principle be recognised in the Indian Councils Bill now before Parliament; and, that a copy of this resolution, signed by the Chairman, be forwarded to the Member for the Division." Another resolution, equally heartily adopted, was as follows:—"That our heartiest thanks be given to Sir William Wedderburn for his presence here to-night, and for his able and instructive lecture, and that we earnestly hope soon to see him elected to the House of Commons, in order that he may there represent, with his great knowledge and experience, the all-important interests of India." In the wish thus cordially expressed every subscriber to India will join.

YOUNG [LADY] ENGLAND ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

On Monday, October 26th, at the Newnham College Political Society, Cambridge, the following motion was brought forward: "That this House desires the reduction of the standing army in India." The prejudice against the motion was very strong and the proposer could only find one speaker on her side on the first night, but, on the motion being adjourned to the following Monday, she managed to find a second speaker.

The proposer of the motion began by making a few general remarks about the callousness and indifference of the English people and Parliament to Indian affairs, and then went on to the object of the motion. The standing army in India was to be reduced by 10,000 English troops, taken from various parts of India and leaving the present number of troops on the frontier. She estimated that this reduction would mean an economy of about £2,000,000 per annum in Indian expenditure. She pointed out the great need of the reduction of Indian taxation, especially of the salt tax, to which she proposed to devote the two millions saved by the reduction in the army. She briefly touched on the frontier question, which was rather difficult for members to grasp as their knowledge of it was so limited. Another mutiny, she maintained, was not thought of in India and illustrated this point from the general good order maintained at the Congress, and from the past and present loyalty of the Feudatory States to England. In connection with these States, she showed the importance of amalgamating their armies with the British army which, if accomplished, would enable us to reduce the English army still more.

The rule of the Society allows only a quarter of an hour for any speech, so all these points could only be touched upon very briefly.

The other speakers for the motion brought forward statistics showing the relative wealth of India and England per head, and the relative strength of their armies, and that the army is ultimately used for Imperial purposes, while the other English colonies pay nothing towards the maintenance of the British army. They also answered some statements made about the excellency of British rule in India and mentioned some statistics connected with our famine administration.

It would take too long to give any account of the seven speeches against the motion; the main arguments against were: India is very well governed by picked men from England, why should we, who know so little about it, interfere with that Government? The races of India, they said, are essentially warlike and would rise in revolt if they thought it was at all possible they could succeed, and if there were fewer English troops in India. The supporters showed that were all India to rise in revolt, which would never happen, unless English rule becomes unbearable, no army of ours could keep it down. The possibility of an invasion from Russia was one of the chief grounds of opposition. Russia, they maintained, could quite suddenly and without warning pour its hordes into India through the narrow well-guarded passes of the frontier, across the hostile and mountainous land of Afghanistan.

Of course the proposer of the motion admitted the necessity of guarding the frontier in every way, as things are at present; but why, she asked, should we keep up such a large army in the rest of India at India's expense, mainly to guard our interests, unless absolutely necessary? Ought we not, as Englishmen having sole rule over India, to be very careful how we spend the hard-earned money of the Indian people?

At the end of the second night of the debate, after the proposer had summed up and answered the arguments of her opponents, the voting was taken as follows:

Against the motion	49
For the motion	16

The motion was therefore lost by 33.

Many of those who voted for the motion knew little about Indian affairs before the debate, but were convinced in its favour, and the whole discussion opened up very many and varied subjects for thought on Indian matters.

To our Indian readers the above particulars will not be less—but more—interesting if we state that the mover of the motion was Miss Ruth Caine, a daughter of Mr. W. S. Caine.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:

THE PROPOSED SESSION IN ENGLAND IN 1893.

THE following is the text of the invitation sent to the Nagpur Congress:—

BRITISH COMMITTEE
OF THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:
25, CRAVEN STREET, CHARING CROSS,
LONDON.

BRITISH COMMITTEE:
Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Bart., Chairman.
John Adam, M.A. — W. S. B. McLaren, M.P.
W. C. Bonnerjee. — Dadabhai Naoroji.
W. S. Caine. — C. E. Schwann, M.P.
A. O. Hume, C.B. — George Yule.
T. E. Ellis, M.P.
Wm. Digby, C.I.E., Secretary.

27th October, 1891.

To

AJUDHIA NATH, PANDIT,
Joint General Secretary,
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
ALLAHABAD.

SIR,

At the last Session of the Indian National Congress, held at Calcutta, it was resolved to make provisional arrangements to hold a Congress in England. The Standing Congress Committees were instructed to report on the subject. And all the practical details involved in so eventful an undertaking will, no doubt, receive the anxious consideration of the Congress now about to assemble at Nagpur. The British Committee therefore take the opportunity to express the satisfaction with which they view this important forward movement, and request that you will be so good as to tender their hearty welcome to the Congress on its approaching visit to this country.

As regards the objects of holding a Congress in England, we anticipate much advantage to the members themselves from the experience to be gained by a visit to Europe. But the Congress will no doubt feel, with us, that the main purpose of this undertaking is to bring the aims and aspirations of Indian reformers under the immediate cognisance of the British electorate. For the first time in history a body of accredited Indian representatives will appear in England; so that the leaders of public opinion in this country may now learn at first hand Indian facts from the Indian point of view; and may also have an opportunity of judging with regard to the abilities, temper, and education of those who, as elected members of the Congress, claim to be representatives of public opinion in India.

Such being the objects in view, we desire to place before the Congress the following considerations, arising out of political events in this country, which may serve to indicate the best time to fix for the London Congress, with a view to obtaining the calm and favourable attention of the British public:—In the Calcutta Resolution of 1890 it was contemplated that the visit to England should take place in 1892. But it is now almost certain that the General Election will take place in the course of that year. At the same time no one can foretell the month, or even the season, of the year, when the Queen may dissolve Parliament. The case therefore stands thus, that if any time in 1892 is fixed, it may well happen that the Congress will be due just when Parliament is dissolved. Now it is manifestly undesirable that the deliberations of the Congress in England should be held at a season when the whole country is involved in the turmoil and struggle of a General Election. If the Congress arrived at such a time it would find its friends scattered in election contests all over the country, and there would be no chance of its deliberations receiving suitable attention. Or, supposing that a dissolution had not yet taken place, still it would be a waste of force trying to influence a Parliament so near its end. It therefore appears to this Committee that the most favourable season for a London Congress would be in the early summer of 1893. By that time the elections will be over, and the newly elected House of Commons will have settled to work with the vigour which distinguishes a fresh Parliament: also we have every reason to hope that a large majority of its members will be in active sympathy with popular aspirations. It appears therefore that the time now suggested is suitable for placing before the British public an object lesson showing that the people of India can elect men well fitted to advise the Government regarding Indian affairs, and that their prayer for the expansion of the Indian Legislative Councils on an elective basis is safe, reasonable, and expedient.

But while recommending the Congress to be held not earlier than 1893, the British Committee would strongly urge the Standing Congress Committees to take advantage of the coming General Election to send to England a number of delegates, as in 1885, able effectively to advocate the cause of India before the electors. A general election is a favourable time for such a campaign, for then is found the opportunity of addressing large and influential meetings of electors in a high state of political activity.

In conclusion, I have the honour, on behalf of the British Committee, to convey, through you, a cordial invitation to one hundred members of the Congress of 1893 to be our guests during one month from the day of their arrival in England. We believe that many influential friends of India will gladly join us in forming a Reception Committee to do honour to our distinguished guests; and we feel confident that the friendly intercourse thus promoted will do much to strengthen the feelings of mutual respect and sympathy between India and the British people.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

(*Sd.*) WM. DIGBY, *Secretary*. (*Sd.*) WM. WEDDERBURN, *Chairman*.

THE LATE MR. BRADLAUGH.

A TRIBUTE FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CONGRESS.

UNDER the title of "Some Items of the People's Programme," a speech was delivered at the Dulwich Reform Club, on the 17th October, 1891, by Mr. Allan O. Hume, C.B., General Secretary of the Congress. In the course of his speech, Mr. Hume referred to the late Charles Bradlaugh in the following terms:—

"There is just one little matter I would dwell on before we part. You know how your delegates, and those of scores of other Associations, deputed to the late Newcastle gathering of the National Liberal Federation, charged by those they represented to move additions or amendments to the official programme, additions and amendments of which ample previous notice had been given, found, on arrival, that the executive would not allow them either to move these or indeed speak at all. But there was a report laid before the assembly purporting to embody the feelings of the Liberal party on the politics of the past year, and nominally, according to the agenda, submitted for our approval, and I, for one, thought that on this, at any rate, those of us who wished, would be allowed to comment. Now, that report alluded to the death of the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, but alluded to it in a cold, inadequate, and unsympathetic manner. No more striking personality has passed from amongst us during the last fifty years. Sprung from the people, he loved the people, and lived only to labor for them—fearless in his independence, unwearied in his toil,

> 'A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
> No dangers fright him, and no labours tire,'

he gave his time, his thoughts—aye, and his very life—for the cause of justice. Let who might come forward with a true tale of oppression or of wrong, Charles Bradlaugh was ever ready to listen,

> 'The first to welcome, foremost to defend.'

Sprung from the people—an errand boy, a private soldier, he rose by sheer force of intellectual capacity, true British pluck, and unclouded honesty of purpose, to parley on even terms with even a Tory Cabinet, and to be a terror to all British bureaucratic wrongdoers in all parts of the British Empire.

"I could not brook the cold, grudging phrases in which England's great loss of one of her truly greatest and noblest sons was chronicled in this Federation Report, and I rose to try and express something of what I, and hundreds of others there present, so keenly felt. But, it is perhaps needless to say to you, who realize now the autocratic organization of the Federation, that I was promptly suppressed. Then spoke up a South London delegate who sat next me, himself a suppressed bearer of an amendment, to whom I had explained what I desired to say. 'By heavens it's too bad, if Bradlaugh had been here, such things could never have happened; his strong hand would have let in daylight somewhere; his strong voice would have insisted on fair play, we should, at any rate, have got a hearing.' But, as I said only a few days ago, when assisting at a presentation to his daughter of a grand address from India intended (but which arrived too late) for him, regrets were vain. That strong and kindly hand has ceased for ever to labour and to give—that mighty voice that thrilled a nation's heart is still for ever, and we—we can only sadly murmur the lines in which genius has embalmed humanity's unending wail before the portals of the tomb—

> 'But, oh! for the touch of a vanished hand,
> And the sound of a voice that is still.'

No braver, truer, nobler, man has, in our time, sprung upwards from the ranks of the people; no such dauntless, able, and uncompromisingly honest, champion of the people's cause now remains to us—and, despite the fact that many of us were at issue with him on certain points, no true son of the people but must deplore, deeply and permanently, his great and untimely loss. But we must do more—and this is why I so persistently recall that sad loss—we may, we can, we must, if we are true to the cause we profess, each one of us profit by, imitate and emulate, his example. Honesty, industry in the general interests, independence and self-devotion like his can be ours, too, if we will only be true to what is noblest in ourselves and to what is noblest in our sacred cause."

LITERATURE.

RADICAL REFORMS IN INDIA ADVOCATED BY A LADY TRAVELLER.

A Month in a Dandi: *A Woman's Wanderings in Northern India.* By Christina S. Bremner. (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, and Co., Limited; Hull: Wm. Andrews and Co.)

The book on India for the present season which shall surpass in sterling value this little work by Miss Bremner has yet to be announced. For clear insight into, and an airy way of describing character (note, among other things, Miss Bremner's chaff of "my Lieutenants" at Kasauli); for appreciation of the climatic and scenic conditions of India (especially observe the descriptions of the heat of the plains and the mountain scenery on the Thibet road); for a due recognition of the profuse hospitality and devotion to duty of Anglo-Indian civilians; above all, for a sympathetic attitude towards the Indian people, a swift discernment of the shortcomings of British rule both in itself and in its effects upon the governed, and a wise prescience as to the need for speedy and thorough change (see, in those respects, not merely the two chapters entitled The Congress and The Growing Poverty of India, but almost every chapter): for the things enumerated Miss Bremner's book deserves to take very high rank, to be widely circulated, and to have the conclusions it so forcibly enunciates accepted by the people of the United Kingdom who are, in the last resort, responsible for the manner in which India is governed. Miss Bremner, who had no intention, when she visited India, of writing a book, appears to have used her eyes and ears and her reasoning faculties to a very considerable extent and in an admirable manner. Consequently, she has been able to depict such portions of the Empire as came under her notice—Northern India chiefly—in an unconventional manner, a manner nevertheless that makes her pages highly entertaining reading. But it is her vigorous grappling with the awful problems attending our governing of India which puts Miss Bremner's book in a category by itself. No woman hitherto has ventured to discuss and to describe India as our author has discussed and described it. Charming feminine books concerning India have been written, the flower of which, perhaps, is to be found in Lady Dufferin's two volumes descriptive of her Indian experiences. By the side of Miss Bremner's book the ex-Vicereine's pages look extremely trivial, and appear to be taken up with the mere fringes and trimmings of life. Nowhere does Lady Dufferin discuss, or even allude to, character and consequences as Miss Bremner does on almost every page. It has been said that no one gets to know so little of the real condition of a country and the actual feelings of a people as the ruler of that country and of that people: the supreme ruler is too far above the plane on which the millions eat and drink and have their being to be able to learn anything actually concerning them. Whatever of truth there may be in this statement as regards a land ruled by a native of the land, it is preeminently true of India, and of the great men who are sent to govern that continent of many races and divers nations, now being welded into a homogeneous whole as already have been welded the inhabitants of the British Isles. We cannot call to mind a single expression by any retired Viceroy or Governor, in all the literature for which these exalted beings are responsible, which indicates that any one of them has had any real conception of India and the Indian people. Dealing with the millions in the lump each of the distinguished men who have occupied the highest offices in the Empire or the Presidency appears to have had no conception of the people one by one, nor to be aware of the feelings controlling them or the forces operating among them. Exactly the contrary is the case with the book now before us. Discriminating and thoughtful, it may be confidently recommended to all who desire to know something of the real state alike of the people and of the land those people live in. Though, now and again, the author makes it abundantly clear that she possesses a keen, satirical, tongue and pen, nowhere is there an ill-natured expression or aught that can—or, at least, that ought to—wound the most sensitive of Anglo-Indians—whether Lord Sahib or Mem Sahib. Withal, there are pleasantly humourous passages marked by a slight exaggeration, as when Miss Bremner is discussing mosquitoes and the heat;—the heat is not so utterly unbearable as she would make it out to be: her description of Indian mosquitoes takes rank by the side of Mrs. Menie Muriel Norman's disquisition on Carpathian fleas! Each lady has left nothing more to be said concerning the pests from which they respectively suffered.

This book deserves wide circulation. By way of whetting the appetite of our readers we make a few extracts:

The Decline of Sympathy between Rulers and Ruled.

As communication grows swifter between the mother country and her great dependency, sympathy grows smaller. By the vast majority of Englishmen, the language is but imperfectly known; they have no special aptitude for foreign tongues, even for those of western Europe, and languages founded on Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic present immense difficulty to the average capacity. Despite the recognition this fact has obtained, men in the Indian service are not unfrequently hurried from one district to another, and even one province to another, where what they have acquired in Guzerati or Hindi has to be pushed on one side for Tamil, Punjabi, or Urdu. It is asserted by educated natives that even the language spoken by educated missionaries is often very broken. "You laugh at that!" said a Hindu B.A. of Cambridge in a pleasant English home to a party of English people, who were amused at an Indian paper written in English which alluded to "Virgin Mary" without the article. "You should hear your countrymen speak in our language! And we never even smile!" Swift communication by steam and rail, government by the India Office in London, have revolutionised the ancient system. Women do not need to be sent over by shiploads; they come, and ties formed with them and with the men of his own nation, who are a day's journey distant, where formerly they were a month's, prevent the formation of those links, "light as air but strong as iron," which bound the Collector to the chief men of his district. It was good enough for him, often indeed his principal distraction, that natives should come and chat to him and tell him their personal history and all the village gossip. But it is not good enough for the madam-saheb, whose education indeed too often urges her to attach immense importance to trifles, to show a silly prudishness about dress or its deficiency, and to slur over and faintly draw those broad lines which humanity has in common everywhere. Honourably excepted are women missionaries, who toil and labour among their sex, and often develop or acquire a deep sympathy for native life and a comprehension of its needs and hopes. Strangely enough, women who thus labour are not more highly thought of in Anglo-Indian society than the young lady whose sole *raison d'être* is to charm. The lady missionary's position in society is often invidious, she is not in the running. As a rule, the time required to cultivate society could not be spared by her, but I observed that men who showed polite attention in the tennis and badminton courts to pleasant and ladylike missionaries were spoken of with such enthusiasm that they could not be common.

These little specks on the Indian social sun came under my personal observation, others exist of which I only heard. It is commonly reported that the civilians and the military will not mingle at some stations, each looking down on the other with lofty contempt. "There is no doubt that the man who rules India is Tommy Atkins; the blessed thing is he does not know it." As the speaker was himself a Colonel, the inference is quite plain; at any rate, it was evident in his bearing. The civilian sees the immense administrative machine revolving ponderously from one single centre. From centre to circumference, every spoke measures twelve feet of bright and burnished steel. Its throbbing is the same at Calcutta as at Tinnevelly, and at each thud it gives forth he mutters: "'Tis exceeding good." And after all this mighty work of condensation, centralisation, bureaucracy and equalization, the great machine may yet have to be broken up and its work done by a dozen or if necessary three score smaller ones. It is but the old story of the British Parliament; with infinite toil and trouble, even with cajolery and bribery, it is worked up to be one sole Parliament, and lo, when it is expected all will go well, it must be broken up, because consenting parties are found to be dissenting parties. "We don't want personal influence, we want men who will obey orders." Individuality is indeed obnoxious. And our poor civilian, who has oiled the machinery, wiped it when grease abounded, stoked when necessary, feels harassed when benighted natives say they want a square wheel and military Philistines remark that if they were not there the wheel would not revolve at all. The differences between civilians and military men are not the only ones that exist. It is a fact related by one of themselves that in 1857 officers of the Queen's regiments declined to mess with Company's officers. Noble fellows! I tried hard during the only weeks in my life I ever had to associate with military men to see in them the stuff of which heroes are made. The young men who fought at Lucknow, who took Dehlie, who shed tears

over the well at Cawnpore, and took vengeance for the murder of their women and children, could not have been very different from these. I found comfort in the thought, and listened to their addled conversation about Gladstone's iniquities, the madness of all Governments that would not wage war as soon as young officers counselled them to do so, the lack of proportion between their pay and their deserts, the irredeemable blackness of the native character, the consideration and governmental affection lavished on T. Atkins as compared with his officers, and topics of a kindred nature, to whose discussion and manner of discussion one gets quickly used.

"The Baboo on the Opposition Bench."

There are many forces at work tending to loosen our hold on India. Despite commercial relationships, the investment of English capital in Indian public works, the opening up of the country by railways, the benefits conferred by peace, expensive justice, irrigation, and an almost perfect postal system, it is an open secret that the gulf between us and India is widening, and men who know the country, and are not wrapped up in an impenetrable mantle of egotism and isolation, freely admit it. We are feared but not loved, they confess. There is a young India arising that not only cries "India for the Indians," a cry that any parrot could repeat, but that can intelligently criticise our policy and actions, and *does so*. High posts, at least many of them, are not open to young India, so that it loses little by sitting on opposition benches. There is an old India living in quiet villages, pursuing the laborious life of the cultivators of the soil, that thinks it is growing poorer, that points to the fact that the land-tax yielded three times as much under Akhbar the Great as it now yields under British rule, and with less difficulty, that thinks that foreign trade with a country like England, where food-stuffs are of great value and high price, has not yet been proved to be distinctly advantageous to a country like India where prices and wages are low, an old India that hates the salt-tax as Englishmen hated the corn-tax half a century ago, in a word, an old India that is not infatuated with British rule, and that desires to see more natives in the Councils of the Empire. Let not the haughty but conscientious Saheb deceive himself. Splendid as the results of English Government have been, admired by foreign and impartial visitors as a nobler work than any that the Roman empire could show in its palmiest days, it is almost certain it has touched its zenith, unless it can bend itself to the evidently distasteful task of living in accord with the educated natives, of granting careers to ambitious young men, of literally fulfilling the charters of Indian liberty, as the proclamations of 1833 and 1858 are called, of genuinely assimilating to itself native thought and native talent. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire says: "India never before knew a government so gentle, so enlightened, so liberal." Other travellers, both French and German, concur in this high praise, but express grave doubts as to its permanence. It is not unlikely that a discontented Home Rule Party, allying itself to our near Asiatic neighbour, Russia, could expel us with not too much difficulty. Educated natives, who are well aware of the superiority of British rule over Russian, confess that they have many affinities with the Russian, half-Asiatic as he is, easy and approachable in manners. On taking a town in Turkestan, or winning a battle, the Tzar's officers have been known to smoke and chat with the conquered foe, even shaking hands with easy grace and affability.

Anglo-Indian journals occasionally express some regret that a free press permits such expression of native opinion as is peculiarly obnoxious to them. And others think that the pity of the free press lies more in the unmuzzled freedom of certain Anglo-Indian editors, whose folly goes far to make natives forget the benefits of English rule and see only its hateful side. Time, patriotism, education, courtesy and moderation, everything is on the native side. The basis of our government, even though it is founded on honour and justice, needs widening; without this broader basis our expulsion is a mere question of time.

Mosquitoes on the War Path.

I raised my voice for our freedom from mosquitoes, but I was the only griffin present, and found none to second me. It is said by Anglo-Indians that mosquitoes only suck the sweet fresh blood of the last arrivals. A lieutenant in his second year is no more palatable to a mosquito than is a warmed up leg of mutton to a gourmand. All my lieutenants were in their second or third year, and had forgotten their sufferings, if they ever had any. For indeed, there seems strong reason to suppose that the mosquito and his kindred tribes do not attack man at all. Finding woman possessed of a more tender epidermis, and disgusted by the peculiar flavour many whiskey pegs and much tobacco smoke impart to the blood of man, the mosquito devotes his fiendish energies to embittering woman's life. Had I been by when the mosquito was created, I would have spoken: "Why add one more to life's many ills?" or were this denied, I would have prayed that his taste might be for native blood, and failing that, for man's.

They bit me in the winter when everybody said there were none. My face and person were bedecked with bumps raised by mosquito poison when all declared they could not bite. At night I crept to my room in the dark, and grouped about with outstretched arms to find the bedstead, then stealthily insinuated myself beneath the mosquito curtains. All in vain. They accompanied me, or were hatched in the night to torture me ere morning. My bed was taken to pieces and washed in paraffin; the horrid odour overpowered me. But the mosquito inhaled it as a stimulant or tonic, and with joyful buzz fell on his prey. I grew wonderfully expert at killing the enemy. Whilst the more heavy-moving masculine animal was slowly gathering himself together preparatory to an onslaught, I had laid a row of corpses on the table, victims of my agility. "I would not think of them if I were you," said a mild young man, my partner at a game of whist which I had interrupted for a brief mosquito hunt. "Not think of them!" I wrathfully rejoined. "Tell the weary not to think of rest, the drowning not to think of the water gurgling in their ears, the tortured not to think of painless ease, but don't tell me not to think of mosquitoes, for they *will* think of me. Nothing but ether and chloroform will prevent me thinking of them." Seeing he had spoken foolishly, the young man killed one, after much effort, and silently added it to the death-roll as a propitiatory offering.

The Self-Sacrifice of Indian Women.

The self-sacrifice of women in most communities is patent to the student of social conditions; in India it almost amounts to effacement, and yet, surely a deadly stroke of Nemesis, they assert themselves on the point where they are most deeply injured, and where in revenge they injure the race that accepts so cruel a sacrifice as child marriage. The physical degeneracy of the Hindus is attributed by many educated natives and Englishmen to the marriage of immature young people; yet it ought not to be overlooked that political reformers, armed by an imposing array of statistics, point to British rule as the cause of rapidly increasing poverty, which will not permit of a large section of the population enjoying two sufficient meals per day; hence the degeneration of the race.

Whether the physical deterioration of the Hindus is a result of one cause or of several, it can be easily proved that child marriage is not an unmixed evil. An Indian writer claims that his people may reasonably take credit for the enforcement of "those prudential restraints which Malthusian economists advocate." Large families do not usually result from these early marriages.

The rate of increase of population in India is ·75 per cent. whereas in Britain it is 1·33. Moreover immorality does not assume such proportions as in our country, where reformers style it *the* social evil.

A Congress Supporter in the Himalayas.

At Nachar I skirted one of the great Himalayan forests, known as East and West Nachar. The lambardar, a kind old soul, took me to the village temple to see the ark or khuda, and then I had a delightful talk with Baboo Prubdial, a native of Amritsar, who pointed out to me trees that were probably a thousand years old, and of which only too few are left standing. His hopes touching the Congress, improved education, the success of our missionaries, interested me not a little. I cannot but think it regrettable that Anglo-Indians cut themselves off from intercourse with refined and thoughtful natives, men who could arouse and quicken their sympathies on many points, and whose aims are not very different from those of thoughtful Englishmen.

A Heavy Drain.

Mention has already been made of the immense drain from India to England, visible in the entire disappearance of all profits from commerce and of a deficiency besides amounting to thirty per cent. This severe drain is partly composed of salaries paid to Indian officials, or rather of savings from these salaries. It is not easy to estimate the exact figures paid in this way to India's alien government; frequently one is met by an immense sum called Home Charges, assessed by Sir Richard Temple at seventeen millions of money annually remitted to England. The late John Bright, conspicuous for his interest and sympathy in Indian affairs, obtained from the British Government official acknowledgment of the fact that the Europeans in India, excluding the rank and file of the army, draw from the Indian treasury the vast sum of nearly thirteen millions sterling for their services; of this sum about four millions is spent in non-effective services, to a great extent a euphuism for pensions. "Our kingdom and people together," says Sir Charles Dilke, "draw from India some sixty or seventy millions sterling a year in direct income." Compared with this vast sum the thirteen millions seems trifling indeed, and one might almost be persuaded to accept the dictum of Anglo-India on the subject, that they serve the Empire for a mere trifle more than pure philanthropy.

Is Our Indian Government Cheap?

It must be the contemplation of the seventy millions that causes Dilke to observe: "While we are apt, with our curious habit of self-depreciation, to think our own rule costly, foreign observers generally pronounce it singularly cheap, when account is taken of the value of the expenditure on public works and upon railways." But did the intelligent foreigner observe that the pensions and a large proportion of the official salaries were spent in England, that the material for public works is purchased from England, that the national debt is held by Englishmen, that all the profits of trade go to them? Did that

intelligent foreigner grasp the idea that £100 in India and the same amount in France mean two very different things; that you can hire an Indian man-servant for 16s. a month, out of which sum he feeds himself, whereas in Western Europe you pay a woman-servant 20s. or 25s. a month and feed and shelter her? The word cheap when applied to governments may lead to dire confusion, for there must be doubt whose standard is to be adopted. For instance, estimate an English judge's salary in the average annual income per head of the English population, estimated variously from £38 to £42 per annum. If we say £40 is the average and divide this into a judge's salary, £5,000 per annum, it requires 125 average English incomes to support an English judge. An Indian Chief Justice receives 5,000 rupees per month; if we divide 60,000 rupees by the average Indian income per head of the population, 28 rupees, we shall find it needs more than 2,000 average incomes to pay the Indian judge's salary. Compared with English administration, Indian is very dear, and probably if many such comparisons could be instituted, the results would prove what Indian economists and financiers (I need hardly say native) state to be the fact: that our Government is ruinously expensive. An English General's pay is £5 13s. 9d. daily; is it reduced when he serves in India, so that something like proportion may prevail between the salaries of public servants in a wealthy country and in a poor one? Not only does the General's pay remain the same, but India pays the cost of his transport from home. And this in the face of India's deep poverty, a poverty acknowledged by the highest officials, who in mass oppose the slightest increase in taxation, a tacit recognition that the utmost limit has been reached. But dire as this poverty is, it is India that pays the cost of the India Office, that pays the only contribution to the support of our navy worth the naming, that is plunged into Afghan wars and called on to contribute to an Egyptian one.

We must stay our hand. To the readers of India the passages we have cited will indicate the character and usefulness of the book which we heartily commend to their attention. A second edition should be called for in a short while. Miss Bremner's chapters are singularly free from mistakes. We have observed two only: on page 38, where "a mosque lifts two tall tapering figures [? fingers] to the sky", and, on page 169, where Mr. Geo. Yule is mentioned, with Sir W. Wedderburn and Mr. Hume, as belonging, or having belonged, to the Indian Civil Service. The printer's part is perfectly done, and the whole work is most excellently produced from the binder's point of view.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS AS POLITICAL WRITERS AND AS PATRIOTS.

1. Missionary Work in India (*From an Indian Christian's Point of View*). By S. Satthianadhan, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab). Madras: Methodist Episcopal Mission Press.
2. Four Years in an English University. Same Author. Madras: Lawrence Asylum Press.
3. Madras Indian Christian Association Papers: I. *Educational Progress among Indian Christians.* Same Author.
4. Essays by the late S. V. Thomas, *with Introduction by S. Satthianadhan.* Madras: Addison and Co., Mount Road.

To anyone who wishes to know to what degree of culture and literary ability Indian Christians, after a century of preaching and more than half-a-century of education, have attained, the four publications mentioned above afford a fair test. Mr. Satthianadhan and Mr. Thomas are both Tamil Christians—excellent specimens of Southern Indian converts. The former had the advantages of a University education in England: hence the second work mentioned above; Mr. Thomas had no tuition beyond that which his own Presidency provides, and that, judged by his writings, is good enough for anything. The Presidency College, the Christian College, and Pachaiyappa's College at Madras, are capable of turning out, for the Indian Services or the Indian bar, men as well furnished intellectually and morally as are English or Scottish or Irish Universities. Justice to India in the shape of simultaneous examinations for Indian appointments would make the Indian institutions even better than they now are. Both Mr. Thomas and Mr. Satthianadhan write excellent English, and, whatever be the subject they are treating, they deal with it in a systematic manner. Neither gentleman's writings would suffer by comparison with English literature of a like character and calibre, coming from men in a similar position and cherishing like objects. In more than one respect nothing but praise can be given to this Indian Christian literary work.

When, however, we look at what is before us in another aspect, namely, from the point of view of the authors' own country and their country's probable destiny, there is occasion for deep mournfulness and for a certain measure of despair. It would appear as if Indian Christians had become denationalised. This is strange, for Christianity itself is democratic to a degree, destroying inequality, and promoting brotherhood. In accepting the religion of their conquerors Indian Christians would seem to aspire to become English and to cease to be Indian. There is naught of pride of race, naught of loyalty to and love for their land and its peoples, no belief in a great future either for India or for Indians: there is naught in them or in their aspirations but a reflected light from Englishmen which is as valueless for national cleansing and race development as is the earthshine to give adequate heat to sustain life on the moon.* It is with profoundest sadness we note Indian Christians—as a whole—exhibit this want of patriotism; and, worse still, appear to be proud of so doing. Here and there, in the person of a man like Babu Kali Churn Bannerjee, of Calcutta, is to be found the almost ideal Christian citizen. Faithful to his God, he is equally faithful and devoted to his country. In Messrs. Thomas and Satthianadhan we have the best product of Southern Indian Christianity: the closest research fails to discover in their writings or in the deeds with which they are credited a single trace of that high confidence and belief in their own people and in the future of their own country which alone make national progress possible. Where John Bright so finely said: "I would dwell amongst mine own people," our authors say: "We will dwell with the foreigner; we will imitate him in all he does; we will see nothing but good in him, nothing but bad in our own people." Mr. Thomas, indeed, after stigmatising the Congress and all connected with it, protests: "I would not, however, be understood to mean that I wish to retard the progress of our institutions, or to throw cold water on the efforts of public-spirited men who plead the cause of India in the English House of Parliament." Mr. Caine, Mr. Schwann, and others should be duly grateful for this recognition of their labours. Notwithstanding his disclaimer, Mr. Thomas proceeds to ask a number of questions concerning the misdeeds of his people which could be more than matched by the country-men of Jack the Ripper, the fellow-citizens of the hundreds of bullies who batten upon the tens of thousands of prostitutes in London and elsewhere. Our Madrassi Christian thinks he has disposed of the whole matter when he asks: "Is it not infinitely more important that our women should rise from their fallen position to an even pedestal with us than that we should leap into a seat into the British Parliament or the Viceregal Council?" He evidently does not see that doing the one thing does not necessarily mean leaving the other undone, while he altogether fails to appreciate that seats for Indians in the British Parliament—which cannot be leaped into, but must be won by hardest work—or the Viceregal Council would infallibly help forward the time when Indian wives will stand on an equality with Indian husbands. No question that Mr. Thomas asks has in it so much of terribleness as the fact mentioned in a long article in the current number of the *Review of Reviews* on "The Angel of the Little Ones". It is therein stated that the sum of £50,000 is annually required to enable a Society for the *Prevention of Cruelty to* Children to provide adequate means to prevent "the cruel treatment, wrongful neglect, or improper employment of children." Such a state of things is disgraceful to Christian England, yet not even a denationalised Indian Christian would argue that the British Parliament is a mistake as Mr. Thomas argues that the Indian National Congress is a mistake. If Indian children required as much looking after according to population as

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* It is with much pleasure we note that the able, if too often narrow and exclusive, *Christian Spectator* of Madras, is raising its voice against the denationalization of Indian youth. Quoting from an article in the *St. James's Gazette* on Indian Students in England, the concluding sentence in which is as follows: "In nearly all cases they go back to practise in India; but of late a tendency to settle here has been visible," the *Spectator* remarks: "The last sentence contains rather a startling revelation, and we trust it is not true; for it means that some of our young men marry English girls and settle in England for good. If our young men, by going to England, become so enamoured of that country as to forswear their allegiance to their own country and lose all patriotism, then what is the use of sending them to England? India needs men of the highest enlightenment and culture, and it would be disastrous to India if her best educated and enlightened sons prefer the easy-going life in an English city to living in India and trying to elevate the people to a higher level." There is a true ring in these remarks which we regret we do not often find in the *Christian Spectator*.

the children of Christian England, nearly ten times £50,000 would be needed every year—that is about seventy lakhs of rupees. Mr. Thomas, too, scoffs at the patriotism of Congressionists, declaring they are actuated by selfish motives in what they do. That is to say, they want Governmental offices. Well, that cannot be a very great crime, for Madrassi Christians want the same. We find Mr. Satthianadhan, on page 5 of his paper on Educational Progress, writing: "We regret to find that the number of Indian [he says "Native": why? Does he call English Christians in India, "foreign Christians"? If not, why not? And, when in England, did he allude to his English friends as "natives"] Christian graduates employed in Government Colleges is very limited. We trust that the Director [of Public Instruction] who fully acknowledges the rapid advance by our community in higher education, will see that the qualified Christian graduates find a place in the Educational Department." This surely, is all that a Congressist asks for. He wishes that experienced and qualified men may be allowed to share in the rule of their own country. Why should that be a crime in the Congressist, who may or may not be an Indian Christian, which is praiseworthy in the Indian Christian, whether he is, or whether he is not, a Congressist? In his preface to the reprint of Mr. Thomas's essays. Mr. Satthianadhan refers to his friend's bitter attack on the Congress and declares that the views enunciated must not be taken as representing the attitude of the Indian Christian community as a whole towards the National Congress. He proceeds: "So far as I can judge, Indian Christians as a body are wholly indifferent, not positively opposed, to the Congress, though individual members here and there belong to or sympathise with the movement." If Mr. Satthianadhan's testimony is correct, and if the existing want of patriotism is to be—as we fear from all collateral circumstances it is to be—characteristic of Indian Christians generally and in successive generations, we sincerely hope the prophecy of the *Hindu* will be falsified. That paper predicts a time when Indian Christians will become "the Parsis of Southern India", and "furnish the most distinguished public servants, barristers, merchants, and citizens among the various classes of the Indian community." It will be a grievous misfortune if this happens, unless indeed the spirit of Kali Churn Bannerjee, Alfred Nundy, and C. Golaknath, triumphs over that of S. V. Thomas and S. Satthianadhan, and Indian Christians are baptized into some of that patriotism which they now despise. To love England better than India, to care only to become feeble echoes, pale presentments, of politically-reactionary College tutors whose natural national esteem is magnified and strengthened by their position as members of the conquering race, and of despotic civilians, is to become the worst foe of one's own country and one's own race. We note this with regret, and, under the categorical imperative of clear and manifest duty, may not neglect to draw attention to so portentous a misfortune. Such Indian Christians as we have had the pleasure of knowing intimately, we respect and esteem highly: their culture, their courteousness, their kindliness, their ability, call forth from us unstinted praise; we cordially bear this testimony. But, we have found equally good qualities in the Indians we have known who are not Christians and, *therefore*—on the Thomas-Satthianadhan example and reasoning—are patriots, and we shall wish that their numbers may increase, for the greater good of their country, rather than that English Christianity should prevail throughout India, to the detriment of the best interests of the country. In spite of Mr. Thomas's confident, not to say cocksure, assurances to the contrary, the increased poverty and mental degradation of India are largely due to British domination in a despotic form; the grievous poverty may be lightened and the mental degradation may be removed, if only opportunity be given for Indians to develop under a merely nominal (in form) but effective over-lordship—a government of brotherhood and mutual interest. In face of the condition of India at the present time that such an essay as Mr. Thomas's could be written and that Mr. Satthianadhan could excuse, if not defend, it, is one of the most grievous of contemporary facts and is proof positive of that widespread emasculation which despotic British rule is alleged, by careful observers, to produce. While, on the one hand, it would seem as if the adoption of English Christianity in India will lead to the pauperisation of many millions and the levying of Poor's Rates which will swallow up the major part of the revenues, on the other hand that same foreign religion, by assimilating converts to the foreign way of regarding things, will eat out every atom of patriotism from the hearts of those converts, change them into political nullities, and thus render impossible the revivification of India and the regeneration of the Indian people by Indians themselves, or indeed by anybody. While in Madras, in 1878, the present writer discerned signs of this condition of things approaching, and put on record the views which the events of that time forecasted: the perusal of the publications at the head of this notice has deepened the convictions of thirteen years ago, and has made the heart of at least one man who wishes well to India and to Indians almost despairing—that is, despairing so far as the Christian fruits of good citizenship in India are concerned.

AN INDIAN NOVEL, IN ENGLISH, BY AN INDIAN CHRISTIAN LADY.

SAGUNA: *A Story of Indian Christian Life, by an Indian Lady.* With an introduction by Mrs. R. S. Benson. Madras: G. W. Taylor, Lawrence Asylum Press, Mount Road. 1891.

IT is an open secret that the author of this book is Mrs. Satthianadhan, wife of the gentleman some of whose works we have been dealing with above. We most heartily congratulate the authoress upon the production, in a tongue foreign to her, of a most interesting story. Although there is little of plot and mystification, such as writers of English and American fiction delight in, to arouse the interest of the reader, "Saguna" is uncommonly pleasant reading. Little or no fault is to be found with the phraseology; English colloquialisms even have been thoroughly mastered. Our authoress has done well in the new line she has struck out for herself, as her sisters Ramabai and Cornelia Sorabji, have done and are doing well in their respective spheres. The descriptions given of Hindu home life—non-Christian as well as Christian—are wholly charming. There are long passages, almost whole chapters, which the present writer confesses to having read twice, and which he will, probably, read again. To those who think Hindu home life wholly degrading, lacking in charm and fancy, with nothing of joyous attractiveness, the domestic scenes depicted should come with something of a revelation. The sweet affections of a family circle, the heads of which are of good character, have, surely, never been more pleasingly delineated than they are in this little book. Bhasker's brotherly love for his sister Radhabai, and her tender care of and affection for him, are most touchingly described: there is much of pathos in this portion of the story, but nowhere is the line of good judgment over-stepped. The visits made by the family to which Radhabai, the heroine, belonged, to the Deccan, and the delight which she and her relatives exhibited in country lanes and mountain slopes, could not be surpassed in the annals of an English family. How much of this, we wonder, is the effect of English influence and education on the authoress, and how much of it is really indigenous to the Tamil character? Would there, that is to say, have been the same appreciation of Nature if Radhabai's family had been wholly unconnected with Christianity, and if the story, barring its Christian features, had been told by a non-Christian lady? Mrs. Satthianadhan, however, is not all honey and sweetness. She has a sharp eye for humbug, and relentlessly exposes it. Her satire, at times, is not a little scathing. Considering her firm adherence to Christianity, and her stout championship of that religion throughout the book, it argues the possession of much courage on her part that she should describe a Christian village in the interior, some of the missionaries, and the Bible Readers, in the plain, unflattering, manner she has not hesitated to adopt. It is, however, with something of an anti-climax one finds her recording that the silly, gossipping, back-biting teachers, who, on their way to the village where they are to preach the gospel did not cease to speak unadvisedly with their lips, conducted Christian service with an unction which impressed her and led her to assist in the teaching and preaching herself. The narrative of the journey to the village, which covers several pages, concludes thus:—

"Well, we do have a time of it," resumed the fat narrator, "among the missionaries. One comes and puts all our boys to the fields. He spends half his time in cultivating, digging wells, and planting gardens. He knows more about the weather and the clouds than about the Bible. His sermon is

all about sowing and reaping, and even on Sundays he is found walking in the fields. The school is out of repair, the masters are dismissed, and the catechists and missionaries are out in the open air counting baskets of mud. Another comes, mends the tables, chairs, and forms, teaches English in schools, makes our girls and boys go up for this examination and that, keeps strict accounts of everything, fines if the bell is not rung at the proper time, and if a salaam is not made. Oh! the old missionaries were the best. 'Papa, no food,' you said, and you got a rupee at once. There were no fines then, no accounts were asked. Six months in the year they went about preaching, often getting pelted by Hindus. They visited the poor Christians in their homes. What blankets and clothes you got, to be sure!"

"Why I, when my Bella was born," said the short woman, "got a basket full of clothes for my child. Bhimi, the ayah, says that she sees ever so many things come from England for us, but they are all sold—the stingy ones, and the money goes nobody knows where."

"Yes, those days are gone, when I used to get coffee and tea from my lady for my sick child," said the third woman, with a long sigh, "but now your child may die and the cold lady won't say *tush*."

"Ha! ha! ha!" laughed the preacher. "Coffee, tea and clothes, eh?"

"Yes! What difficulties those men experienced in converting and raising a Christian colony," resumed the fat one. "The most difficult part of the work was over before the present men came. Much can they do. Ask them to make a convert now. Why! they frighten a man out of his senses by their cold supercilious manner and their eye-glasses."

"You are a funny lot," said the preacher. "I suppose you say that these came for their belly and those to teach and preach," and laughs again—"Ha! ha! ha!" The women appeared to be extremely disgusted with the preacher for his provoking sneers and his laugh, but they consoled themselves by saying: "He can't understand."

Soon we were at the end of our journey, and I felt bewildered and disgusted at what I had heard. I also felt that the statements were gross exaggerations, and that even the best of the acts of the missionaries were interpreted in a spirit of fault-finding and narrow-mindedness; but what was it that made me feel the utter unworthiness of these people to preach the gospel of peace and charity to the Hindus around? Somehow the charm of the trip was lost for me, and I looked listlessly forward to the journey home.

The book is one which merits a wide circulation. It would be eagerly read and greatly appreciated in missionary circles in Great Britain. One of the Missionary Societies would do well to publish it, but we suspect the English edition would differ from the Indian edition, in that such passages as the one we have quoted would not pass, unedited, through the hands of the Committee responsible for republication.

HINDU LITERARY DEVELOPMENT.

The Hindoo Magazine. Edited by Amrita Lal Roy. Calcutta: Published by B. B. Mittra.

A monthly magazine has just been started at Calcutta which promises to be of deep interest to a large section of the Hindu community, and also to Europeans who study the mental and spiritual condition of man, and the evolution of religious beliefs. It is none other than a magazine which proposes to expound and discuss the philosophical basis of Hindu belief, with the object of supplying to English-educated Indians "who are Hindus by birth and instinct the lost basis of their religious faith." The editor points out, in an article of remarkable judgment and scholarship, that European civilization is a disturbing element tending to narrow the apprehensions of those under its influence; and that, although its temporal beneficence is not to be despised, it is yet deficient in the satisfying excellencies which characterize the more complete system of Hinduism. To people accustomed to the missionary presentment of that creed this view of the matter will be a little startling; but a careful perusal of the editor's argument will convince most people that Hinduism is not the utterly foolish thing it has been customary to represent it. As a philosophical system of life in the widest sense it deserves careful study, and may be regarded as an extension of Comtism to eternity in both directions, wherein the span of human life sinks to insignificant proportions. Every student of Sanskrit literature becomes aware of the profundity of Hindu thought on spiritual phenomena; and only a few master minds have had the patience, or the capacity, to grasp the subject in its entirety and to realise its immensity and its subtlety. The series of essays which is to be published in this new magazine will enable many people to understand the real foundations of Hinduism, and to appreciate the work it has done, and the reasons for the hold which it retains on a vast portion of the human race.

The second article enumerates the treatises in which Hinduism is found, and indicates the method in which they will be separately dealt with. The next is on Suttee, and approves of its abolition, "as it was no longer in harmony with its surroundings." Bengal agriculture is then treated, and the writer shows that the average cultivator is not so backward as is asserted, when due heed is given to the circumstances amid which he labours. An article on astrology, and the first part of a tale, end the present number, which is well written throughout in idiomatic English of a decidedly high class. The sober earnestness and courteous dignity of tone shown by the various writers indicate a consciousness of the strength of the system expounded. Hinduism is not put on its defence, but is explained for the benefit of men of culture, and as a means of promoting their happiness and spiritual perfection. There is much grit and character in the new venture.

THE PROPHET'S LIFE AND TEACHINGS.

The Life and Teachings of Mohammed, or, The Spirit of Islam. By Syed Amir Ali, M.A., C.I.E., etc., etc. London: W. H. Allen and Co. 1891.

About fifteen years ago many thoughtful people were a little startled by the appearance of a translation of the *Bhagavad-Gita*, the main purpose of which, however, was to show to English people the philosophical basis of the Hindu religion, with the ultimate hope of winning sympathisers with its doctrines. The ideas which have even shocked one generation have, before now, become the serious beliefs of another; the comely figure of Madame Blavatsky will arise to many minds in this connection. Certainly, those who may patiently read the translation of Harichand Chintamon, just alluded to, will find it more difficult to answer his arguments than to exclaim against them. However this may be, Muhammadism is not long behind its rival creed; only with this difference, that it has first secured converts and built a mosque in England before putting forth its philosophical defence. Mr. Amir Ali, a well-known and deservedly-esteemed Indian gentleman of eminence and attainments, has written a life of Muhammad for the purpose of showing the excellence of the creed founded by the Prophet of Allah, and the peculiar suitability of such a creed to the existing wants of society in both East and West. He shows, with much care, the gradual evolution of the creed; the logical need of the revelation through Muhammad; and he explains the debt of gratitude which humanity owes to that great teacher, and the excellence of the social ethics of Islam. All this is done with much judgment, frankness, and niceness of reasoning. The effect of such efforts need not be here prognosticated; it is sufficient to state that those who feel interested in the intellectual morals and religious development of humanity, will find in this book a careful and well-reasoned exposition of Muhammadism, as it presents itself to the mind of a well-educated believer.

What will astonish many Europeans is the analysis of the position of women in Islam, wherein the author proves that, both legally and socially, the position of Muhammadan women is superior to that of European ladies, notwithstanding the exultation habitually expressed over Western enlightenment in this respect. The most advanced advocate of womens' rights will find, by reading pp. 363–365 of this book, that much has to be done before the status of Christian women is raised to the level of that of their Muhammadan sisters.

All the objections usually urged against the spirit of Islam, are treated at full length and in a masterly manner. Precise references are given for statements, and original texts are cited on all doubtful points. The book is, beyond question, a valuable contribution to the Science of Religion, and Mr. Amir Ali deserves praise for the generous manner in which he has dealt with many ill-considered allegations against his creed.

THE INDIAN DELEGATES TO BRITAIN IN 1885.

SOME INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH THE DELEGATION IN THE GENERAL ELECTION TURMOIL.

IT may be of some service to the Nagpur Congress, when considering the question of sending delegates to Britain next year, if a few incidents connected with the delegation of 1885 are brought to mind. In that year, on the eve of the General Election, Messrs. Manomohun Ghose, Rai Bahadur Salem Ramaswamy Mudaliyar, and Mr. Narayen Ganesh Chandavarkar, were appointed delegates. Their mission attracted special attention, chiefly, because it synchronized with the excitement and high endeavour which characterise an appeal to the English people to elect a new Parliament. Its surprising success was, also, in no small measure, due to the fact that the delegates—with one or two exceptions — attended Liberal meetings only. An opposite course was adopted in 1890, when Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee and Mr. Mudholkar were in England: that course was not so successful. In nineteen cases out of twenty Conservatives refused to have anything to do with the meetings, while, not being convened by the local Liberal Association, not a few Liberals did not feel called upon to exert themselves. After the formal banning of the Congress Party by Captain Middleton, on behalf of the Central Conservative Organization, to say nothing of the ridicule and contempt poured on the movement by the Conservative press, Indian Reformers have no resource but to ally themselves with the Liberals and take advantage of the enormous Liberal gatherings sure to be held in every large town to promulgate the Congress programme. Assuming that this will be unreservedly done by the delegates, and that they will visit England at a time when the great meetings are held, it is safe to say that the triumph and success of 1892 will be even greater than were those of 1885. The success achieved six years ago was of a significant and striking character, so much so that the new campaign ought to be entered upon with courage and confidence. Indian questions are better understood now than they were in 1885. By the Tory press, of course, the delegates were received with insult and slander. But, they did not repay railing with railing. As a rule, they treated, with deserved contempt, the foolish and untrue things said of them. Of the campaign, as a whole, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, said: "It is only the barest justice to say that the representatives of the Indian educated class have conducted their campaign, amid disgraceful insults and slanders, with a dignity and magnanimity which is itself one of the best possible testimonies to the justice of their appeal."

In a report of the delegation of 1885, written by the Honorary Secretary and forwarded to the Committees of the Bombay Presidency Association, Bombay; the Sarvajanik Sabha, Poona; the Indian Association and the Indian Union, Calcutta; the Mahajana Sabha, Madras; the Sind Sabha, Kurrachee; and the Praja-hita-Vardhab Sabha, Surat, per Mr. P. M. Mehta, the Hon. K. T. Telang, C.I.E., and Mr. D. E. Wacha, hon. secretaries, Bombay Presidency Association, some facts were given which we quote as follows:

THE WORK DONE.

The gentlemen constituting the deputation were: Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar, LL.B., of Bombay; Mr. Salem Ramaswamy Mudaliyar, of Madras; and Mr. Manomohun Ghose, M.A., of Calcutta. The last-named, who was in England, was, by telegraph, desired by two of the Bengal Associations to become their representative. Early in October the whole of the delegates arrived in England. On the 12th of that month a meeting of friends interested in the objects of the delegation was held at the National Liberal Club, London. A consultation took place between those present as to the best way in which the objects in view could be obtained. It was unanimously agreed that the *modus operandi* should be three-fold in its character:

1. By the delegates addressing public meetings in the metropolis and in different parts of the country;
2. By arranging, in concert with Liberal electors, for test questions to be put to every candidate for Parliament; and
3. By the circulation of leaflets, including a manifesto from the people of India to the electors of Great Britain and Ireland.

The meeting unanimously resolved itself into a committee, with power to add to its number, to be called "The Indian Delegates' Committee." The committee being purely consultative and advisory—the financial arrangements were made in Bombay. Only two meetings were held. Most valuable counsel was given by Professor W. A. Hunter, M.P., Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. F. W. Chesson, Colonel Osborn, Mr. J. Seymour Keay, and others.

The novel campaign upon which the delegates entered was carried through with ability, with devotion, and with courage of a high order, and at the same time with so much acceptance as to win the most cordial approval of those English men and English women who were so fortunate as to hear the speeches and to make the acquaintance of the delegates.

Public meetings were held in London and in many of the great towns of England and Scotland. Several were either presided over or attended by some of the most notable of Liberal statesmen, *e.g.*, the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P., the Right Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P., the Right Hon. Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., M.P., and others. Interviews of a cordial and satisfactory character were obtained with the statesmen named, with the ex-Viceroy (the Marquis of Ripon, K.G.), with the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill, M.P.), and with many others, both Liberal and Conservative. Though, owing to circumstances arising out of the principles inspiring the respective parties, meetings were more frequently held under the auspices of leading Liberals than in connection with Conservatives, the delegates in no way formally associated themselves with either of the two great parties.

The personal impressions made by the delegates on the English folk with whom they became acquainted were of the most gratifying character, and were such as to heighten the respect in which able and cultured Indians are held by their British fellow-subjects. Both politically and socially nothing was left to be desired either in the zeal or in the aptness with which your representatives performed their arduous and important duties. Their campaign was short; into the few weeks at their disposal they crowded much work and accomplished great things on behalf of their country.

TEST QUESTIONS FOR PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES.

Through the small office staff at 18 Cockspur Street, communication were opened with the Parliamentary candidates in Great Britain. The following questions, with an accompanying explanatory letter, were sent to each constituency, with a request that the respective candidates should be asked to consider and answer the questions:

1. Are you in favour of a Parliamentary inquiry being instituted into Indian affairs? And, will you take the earliest opportunity of urging the appointment of a Committee of inquiry?
2. Are you in favour of the abolition of all special privileges and disabilities, based upon distinctions of race, connected with the administration of justice?
3. Are you in favour of the larger employment of natives of India in the public service, and their appointment to offices under the Crown, irrespective of all considerations of race and creed?
4. Are you in favour of the continuation and extension of the scheme of Local Self-Government as developed by Lord Ripon?
5. Are you in favour of the reorganization and constitution of the Indian Legislative Councils on a wider basis, involving the power of asking questions on public affairs and control of Presidency or Provincial finance, and permitting of the admission into the Councils of a large proportion of representative Indians?
6. If the Indian Council (*i.e.*, the Council of the Secretary of State for India in London) be retained, will you

(*Continued on page* 302.)

TAKING THE PEOPLE INTO THEIR RULERS' CONFIDENCE.

AN INDIAN EXAMPLE WHICH SHOULD SHAME VISCOUNT CROSS.

BUT FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA BRITISH PROVINCES WOULD BE AS ADVANCED AS IS MYSORE.

WE take from *The Hindu,* the leading Indian paper in Madras, an important article. The story it tells is as honourable to the Maharaja and Dewan of Mysore as the fact that a like story cannot be told of the British Provinces of India is discreditable to the present Imperial Government, and especially to Viscount Cross, Secretary of State for India. Our contemporary writes :—

Mysore is the only province in all India, in the areas administered by native rulers or in British India, where there is provision for Government to come in direct contact with the people. In British India the Government is administered by an agency which is foreign to the people. In native States, too, the reigning dynasties are in many instances foreign to the people in nationality and language. This is the case with regard to Hyderabad, Gwalior, Kashmir, Baroda and several other States. A great difficulty in the administration is to make the rulers and the ruled understand each other. In British India this difficulty is experienced almost every day.

THE PEOPLE COMPLAIN

that the Government keeps its motives and policies as secrets till it can serve no purpose for the public to know them; and the Government too, complains very often that its objects and intentions are misunderstood by the public and it is subjected to hard and unfair criticism in the organs of public opinion. This difficulty has been overcome in Mysore. Here the ruler speaks the same language as the people, and represents a dynasty far older than most of the Indian royal families. This is in itself a considerable advantage. But

THE GENIUS OF RANGACHARLU, THE FIRST DEWAN,

after the province was restored to Indian rule, saw the advantage of a regular and formal means of contact between the governing power and the tax-paying community, and

ESTABLISHED THE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

which has existed for ten years, and has vindicated the wisdom of its founder by the intelligence and moderation it has displayed in representing the grievances of the people. At first the assembly was held useful more in its future developments than in the help it practically rendered to the administration. But it soon learnt to value itself, and

THE SOUND COMMON-SENSE AND PRACTICAL WISDOM THAT CHARACTERISE OUR COMMERCIAL AND AGRICULTURAL CLASSES

began to assert themselves; and now, we are glad to believe, the assembly is looked upon by the Government of Mysore as a valuable portion of its administrative machinery. Its value as an exponent of public opinion, and as a means of knowing those public wants of which the official has ordinarily little or no knowledge, is so well established that Mr. Seshadri Iyer resolved last year upon improving its constitution and making it a more efficient and trustworthy organ of public opinion and wants. With this object in view the Dewan declared at the meeting of 1890 that

THE MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY WOULD HENCEFORWARD BE ELECTED

by certain influential and intelligent classes of people instead of being nominated by the officers of Government. The statesmen of Mysore have spontaneously, and in the fulness of their patriotic wisdom, introduced the reform which the National Congress has been pressing on the Government of India in vain for the past six years. The Congress movement has roused a very general interest in the question of popular representation in the Councils of the Government, and we believe our readers will be interested to know what the Government of Mysore thinks of the experiment introduced ten years ago, in the direction so ardently desired by the Congress. Addressing the assembled representatives last year, Mr. K. Seshadri Iyer said :

"Gentlemen,—Before concluding my address, I wish to say a few words on the important subject of the constitution of this Assembly. Having its origin in the first year of His Highness the Maharaja's reign, it has had a most encouraging career during the past nine years. At first the Assembly was composed of leading ryots and merchants of the province, nominated by the Dewan and the local Deputy Commissioners after careful investigation. In 1887 we were able to provide that the agricultural classes which constitute the most numerous and the most important section of the people, should be represented by persons possessing a certain prescribed property qualification, and that the various Local Fund Boards, Municipalities and Public Asssociations should depute members to the Assembly from their respective bodies. In the following two years we maintained proper Talukvar lists of qualified persons, and endeavoured so to regulate the selections as to give satisfaction to all classes as far as possible. These attempts at improving the constitution of the Assembly have so far been attended with success that His Highness' Government are now encouraged to take a further and important step towards securing

A FULLER AND MORE SATISFACTORY REPRESENTATION

of every important interest in the country. The moderation, the intelligence and the practical good sense which have characterised your discussions in past years, the material help you have given the Government in the discussion of important questions, and the sustained interest you have evinced in public affairs, have convinced his Highness the Maharaja that

THE TIME HAS NOW COME WHEN THE WEALTHIER AND THE MORE ENLIGHTENED CLASSES MAY, WITH SAFETY, BE LEFT TO THEMSELVES TO CHOOSE

the members for this Assembly. In order to give due effect to these sentiments of his Highness the Maharaja, we have drawn up a set of draft rules to regulate the future constitution of this Assembly. A copy of these rules is now before you. You will observe therefrom that the property qualification for membership in the Assembly is so fixed as to embrace the largest landholders, and the leading merchants and traders, and that high education has been recognised as a qualification itself. The property qualification, it will be noted, is high, being the payment of a land-revenue of from Rs. 100 to 300, or of a mohatarfa tax of from Rs. 13 to 24, or the ownership of one or more Inam villages, with a Beriz of Rs. 500, but it cannot be regarded as unreasonably high, as it is expected to give not less than fifty qualified persons for each of our sixty-six Taluks on an average. All persons qualified by property or education will be invited to meet and elect from among themselves two, three, or four persons, according to a fixed scale, as members of the Assembly for their respective Taluks or for the City of Bungalore or Mysore, as the case may be. In addition to members thus elected, the various Local Fund Boards, Municipalities and Public Associations will be asked to depute members to the Assembly from among their respective bodies. Thus constituted the maximum number of the members of the Assembly would be about 351. It would

EFFICIENTLY REPRESENT ALL INTERESTS IN THE COUNTRY,

and its suggestions and observations would command the consideration and respect which are due to the opinions of a responsible body of formally elected representatives of the people. It must, however, be admitted that the constitution now given does not ensure what can be regarded as a full popular representation. This can only be effected by making the number of electors fairly proportionate to the population. But there are numerous practical difficulties in the way of such a reform, which we are perforce compelled to leave for the future, contenting ourselves for the present with the cautious but highly desirable step we have now taken. And let me add that it is His Highness' sincere hope that the privilege he has now been pleased to grant will be exercised to the fullest extent and in the most beneficial manner possible, and that it will be so appreciated by all as to enable His Highness gradually to enlarge the circle of electors, so as to give wider effect to the principle of representation in the constitution of this Assembly."

This hope has been realized to a considerable extent, and though the people of Mysore, no less than the people of other parts, are unused to

THE SYSTEM OF ELECTION,

the privilege has been, in the first year of its trial, exercised with satisfactory results,

HAS BEEN EXERCISED,

to use the Dewan's words,

"WITH SO MUCH JUDGMENT AND SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY"

as to return men in every way qualified to speak on behalf of the people. Under the rules published by the Government, the maximum number of members of the Assembly is 351, of whom the number that actually attended is about 250, a number not too large for a population of 5,000,000. With what good sense and intelligence the more prominent of these representatives discuss matters in which they are interested and what help the administration itself receives from them, will be understood by those who witness the proceedings. The European merchants and planters, no less than the Indian subjects of His Highness, appreciate the usefulness of the Assembly, and it is evident that the Europeans residing in the Province will, with their characteristic energy, turn this concession to their best advantage. Mr. R. H. Elliot, an old and well-known planter of Mysore, speaking on behalf of the whole Assembly, expressed gratitude to His Highness, who had shown rare wisdom and liberality in granting to his subjects the privilege of election. And as the chief administrators are themselves ambitious of distinction as having been the pioneers of popular Government in India, there is reason to believe that the representative character of the Assembly will develop considerably within the next few years. Several important matters relating to the legislation and administration of the Province were brought before the Government this year.

The planters complained that the Labour Act was defective, it enabled the coolies to defraud the planters, the decisions of the Chief Court of Mysore were conflicting, and that a modification of the Act was urgently called for.

The representatives of gold mining brought to the knowledge of the Dewan that gold was being constantly stolen by the coolies, and suggested that any cooly found in possession of gold quartz should be punished.

The ryots, of course, wanted many things. As in British territories, in Mysore also, which has mostly reproduced Anglo-Indian enactments and administrative methods, the ryots complained of the cumbrous and costly character of the ordinary Courts of justice, and wanted Panchayat Courts to be instituted, by which they hoped justice would be administered more promptly and cheaply, and perjury would be made almost impossible.

(*Continued on page* 308.)

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INDIA.

NOVEMBER 27, 1891.

THE CONGRESS AND THE PRESSING DUTIES OF THE HOUR.

1892.

AN Italian proverb runs: "The eye of prophecy looks backwards." In the spirit of that proverb a large portion of the present issue of this journal has been devoted to looking backwards. Because it is imperative that what was done in 1885 by Indian reformers must be done by Indian reformers in 1892 we tell the story of the great and successful achievements of Messrs. Manomohun Ghose, S. Ramaswamy Mudaliyar, and N. G. Chandavarkar, in the turmoil of the general election of six years ago. Basing opinion upon what was achieved then it is easy to predict what may be accomplished now. From the great exertions and the timely eloquence of the gentlemen we have named may be dated the commencement of that new interest and enlarged sympathy in Britain in regard to Indian affairs which, rightly, afford to those who are anxious to advance the best interests of India and its peoples, so much hope of eventual success. The work begun in 1885 was furthered, three years later, by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. Eardley Norton, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and, last year, was carried many paces forward by the energetic efforts of the delegates from the Bombay Congress of 1889—Messrs. A. O. Hume, Surendra Nath Banerjee, R. N. Mudholkar, and Dadabhai Naoroji. Much ground has been gained by the respective campaigns, but the territory secured is insufficient for ensuring an early triumph of the Congress principles. Much more remains to be done, much more territory has yet to be secured. The times are most propitious for further and forward action. The task of the advocates is easier now than it was ever before. There is scarcely a town of any importance in the United Kingdom where hearty friends of Indian reform are not to be found, where Indian delegates would not be sure of a most cordial welcome.

During the coming year unexampled opportunities of spreading a knowledge of what India really wants will be afforded in the numerous meetings held in connection with the forthcoming general election. The triumphs of 1885 may be renewed and greatly increased. There will be hardly a Liberal meeting anywhere in the United Kingdom at which the presentation of the Indian case will not be welcome. The fields are ripe unto the harvest. Labourers only are wanted to gather in the fruits of years of persistent effort. Upon no one point is there greater unanimity among the friends of India in Great Britain than on this: the need for delegates to go to all parts of the United Kingdom during 1892 is imperative. If the Indian people are ever to make themselves and their political wants adequately known to the electorate, who alone have the power to give or to withhold the boon of partial self-government to the races of India, now, emphatically, is the time. In their letter to the Joint General Secretary of the Congress, the British Committee urge, in terms which cannot be misunderstood, the desirability, nay, the grave necessity, for a number of fully-qualified Delegates to visit this country in 1892. The Nagpur Congress cannot do better than give this matter most earnest consideration, and see to it that the Delegates appointed leave India for London at the earliest possible moment.

1893.

When inviting the Congress to assemble in England in 1893, the British Committee of the Congress remarked that, as regards the objects of holding a Congress in England, they anticipate much advantage to the members themselves from the experience to be gained by a visit to Europe, and proceed:—"But the Congress will no doubt feel, with us, that the main purpose of this undertaking is to bring the aims and aspirations of Indian reformers under the immediate cognisance of the British electorate. For the first time in history a body of accredited Indian representatives will appear in England; so that the leaders of public opinion in this country may now learn at first hand Indian facts from the Indian point of view; and may also have an opportunity of judging with regard to the abilities, temper, and education of those who, as elected members of the Congress, claim to be representatives of public opinion in India."

The aspect of the question thus dwelt upon and developed is of great importance, and sight of it ought never to be lost. But this is not all. There is another side of the matter which demands close attention. That side has to do with the members of the British Congress and their qualifications for the duties imposed upon them. A recent leading article in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, of Calcutta, expressed with much force, the idea we are now insisting upon when it said:—"If delegates are to be sent to England, let the Congress subjects be divided amongst them. Let each one master thoroughly the subject allotted to him; let him fit himself to meet trained opponents with the advantage of having documents in his possession; and, then, such a delegation will have an immense effect upon the British public. But we can never agree to send incompetent men to England. That will cause disaster." The importance of some such course as this being adopted cannot be too strongly insisted upon. One thing is certain: the sittings of the Congress in London and in several of the larger provincial centres will excite much attention, and are sure to lead to men like Sir Richard Temple, Sir John Strachey, Mr. J. M. Maclean, M.P., and others like-minded with them, putting forth the well-known Anglo-Indian objections to reform in India, and declaring that things as they are are in the best possible condition. The Delegates must be prepared to meet such assaults, and, not merely to meet them, but to prove their futility and the utter inadequacy of the present bureaucratic rule of the country. They can only be fully furnished for the fray by most complete study of everything

—official and non-official—which has been written upon the respective matters to be dealt with. So far as a few Members of Congress are concerned there is no need to urge the adoption of such a course. It would be invidious to mention names, but all who are acquainted with the Congress speakers know that there are some men who are diligent in the study of the questions they speak upon as they are lucid and informing in their treatment of those questions. With an appreciable number of the orators at the annual assemblies, however, this is not the case. Whatever fortune the Congress may meet with in this country, whatever of success or of failure may be recorded concerning it, in respect to this matter at least there must be no misunderstanding: no man should be allowed to speak on any topic which he is not known to have fully mastered. Arrangements should be made at Nagpur of such a character as will ensure the whole range of Indian subjects being thoroughly studied and intelligently dealt with. Briefs in regard to special subjects—as, for instance, the Services, especially in connection with Lord Cross's most maleficent action towards the Indian people by his Orders on the Recommendations of the Public Service Commission—should be prepared, and Leaflets, putting the pith of grievances suffered by the people in an easily-understandable form, are needed. What we mean in this latter respect may be gathered from an example which we cite as follows:—

POVERTY AND STARVATION IN INDIA: WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

A CATECHISM FOR BRITISH ELECTORS.

QUESTION. What is the condition of the Indian people under British rule?

ANSWER. The great mass of the people are miserably poor, living from hand to mouth upon an insufficient quantity of the coarsest grain. They have no savings, and are hopelessly in debt to the money lenders. Their condition is, therefore, most precarious, and one bad harvest is sufficient to cause millions to die of starvation. During eighteen years there were sixteen great famines, in which twelve millions died of hunger. In the Madras and Bombay famine alone in 1876-77, five and-a-half millions died, that is a number larger than the whole population of Ireland.

Q. What is the cause of this extreme poverty?

A. The soil of India is fertile, and the Indian cultivators are very skilful and industrious. With good administration the country would be a garden. The extreme poverty of the Indian people is caused by the errors and extravagance of the Government which is entirely in the hands of English civil and military officials. The interest of these officials is adverse to peace, economy, and reform. They carry on wars of aggression, such as those in Afghanistan and Burma, and thereby gain distinction and promotion for themselves; they draw salaries far in excess of those paid to any other class of officials in the world: and they overtax the people making them pay in proportion double the taxation paid in Great Britain. Being foreigners they are ignorant of the needs and wishes of the people.

Q. Does the taxation press heavily upon the poor?

A. Yes. For example there is the tax upon Salt, which is a necessary of life to the Indian vegetarian. The Government maintain a monopoly of salt and charge the people twenty times what it costs them. The average income of the Indian people is three halfpence per day, so that they cannot afford to buy enough of this dear salt, and much disease and suffering are the result. In England the average consumption of salt is 50 lbs. per head per annum, in India it is only 10 lbs. Harsh and cruel laws are passed to punish anyone who uses any but Government salt.

Q. Have the Indian people no voice in the management of their affairs?

A. None at all. One British elector has more direct power over the affairs of India than the two hundred and twenty millions of British Indian citizens all put together.

Q. Do not the Indian people complain?

A. Yes, constantly; but they obtain no redress. Their only appeal lies to the India Office in London, and the authorities in the India Office are retired Indian officials, the very persons against whom the complaints are made.

Q. Do they not petition Parliament?

A. Last year eight hundred petitions were presented from India, containing nearly half-a-million signatures. But the majority of Members of Parliament are utterly indifferent to Indian affairs, because no votes depend upon them.

Q. Who, then, is responsible for all this wrong-doing and suffering?

A. The British Elector. Because he alone has the power, and it is his duty to see that justice is done.

A combination of effort on the part of the various Committees in India which, we take it, will be charged with the work that has to be done there, and of the British Committee, if energetically and painstakingly undertaken, cannot fail to make the Congress session of 1893 in England an epoch in the history of the relations existing between India and the Sovereign Power which controls India's destinies.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE FORTHCOMING SESSION OF CONGRESS.

Two names—both those of orthodox Hindus—have been mentioned for the Presidency of the forthcoming Congress Session. As we mentioned in our last issue, Mr. Ajudhia Nath Pandit, of Allahabad, Joint General Secretary, is one: the other is the Hon. S. Subramania Aiyar, M.L.C., of Madras. Respecting the latter gentleman a telegram in the *Indian Mirror* of October 14, runs thus:

MADRAS, 13th October.

The Bombay Congress Commitee have elected Dewan Bahadur S. Subramanya Aiyar, C.I.E., as President of the next Congress. Madras, probably all India, will hail this nomination. Madras has not hitherto supplied a President for the Congress. No better selection could have been made by the Congress Committees in India. Mr. Aiyar accepts the Presidentship. Madras will, as usual, muster strong at Nagpore from all parts. All Madras District Committees, numbering about forty, heartily approve of the choice.

Either selection will be an excellent one.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AN OFFICIAL CONSPIRACY: THE REAL INDIAN QUESTION.

To the Editor of "INDIA."

SIR,—It is too often forgotten that there may be conspiracies within a government as well as outside; and that sinister schemes and systematic intrigues may flourish within the governing classes, as well as amongst ignorant or disaffected populations. In few of the barred paradises of officialism are the facilities so great for underground policies, or studiously masked designs, as within the secret recesses of India Office cliques, or in the Political Secretariat of the Indian Government. And when the heads of those institutions are ill-informed, incapable of taking the initiative, or themselves inclined to ways that are dark, such furtive schemes may go on for years without attracting public notice. When, by some chance, the eyes of independent politicians become opened to the game long pursued by irresponsible secretaries and influential executive subordinates, it is generally too late to reverse the reactionary or revolutionary course to which the Empire, with its resources and its reputation, is found to be committed.

It has long been evident (though only to a few) that such has been the method, and such may be the result, of the continuously promoted, but skilfully masked, aggressive and revolutionary Indian trans-frontier "progress", determinedly pursued since 1876 through the political and military departments of the Simla Executive. This has not only been permitted, but often vigorously promoted, by the India Office where dwells entirely autocratic, and, virtually, irresponsible,

power over the resources and destinies of India. The confidential despatches, the few unavailing "dissents", the demi-official notes, and cypher telegrams—many of these last sent out under the secret and absolute power of the Secretary of State provided for by Sec 26 of the Act—which mark the subterranean course of this fifteen years revolutionary plotting are at present inaccessible. No parliamentary wild horses can avail to drag these incriminating documents from their dread abode. Possibly if, in the meantime, rational counsels may have returned to the directors of our Indian policy, the future historian may rescue a few of the less flagitious of these *pieces de conviction*, about the period when the publication becomes due, under Lord Dalhousie's will, of the sealed instructions he bore on his destructive mission to India from the Whig coterie of Bowood.

Meanwhile, we can only deal with the few overt indications of this furtive and ruinous policy; take note of its grave results in pressure on Indian Finance, and in producing internal disturbance within the country itself. As to outward indications, we need not dwell on the recent silly scare about explorers on "The Roof of the World"; though that sufficed to shake the nerves of the most sedate of our dailies, which printed in leader type a wild declamatory letter on the subject from some fire-eating correspondent at Bombay. Another indication of more significance, as indicating activity of the journalistic emissaries of this standing conspiracy, may be noted in one of the best provincial journals which gave a leader taking for its text the statement that H.H. the Ameer of Kabul had expressed a desire to receive a British-Indian Embassy at that city, presumably as a permanent arrangement. Your readers know well enough how highly improbable this is; and yet such is the determination and ingenuity of the ever active efficient adventurers who have been so long striving, and with too much success, to break down the political boundaries of India, that it is just possible the Ameer, amidst his government and other perplexities, may have been cajoled (or, as the Indian phrase goes, *samjaoed*) into admitting that he has no strong personal objection to such scheme. This, however, carries with it the obvious qualification, so forcibly expressed by two of his predecessors, that his Highness cannot answer for his Sirdars and the people of his "God granted country." As to the methods and objects with which this consent to receive British officers at Kabul has been obtained, I may suitably summarise certain observations on the subject penned by an Indian politician several weeks before. This supposed diplomatic success of the Simla Foreign Office has been promulgated here. My friend says:

"No doubt you will hear of developments beyond the frontier between this and next February: *then* the schemes now under hand will be accomplished facts, as the phrase goes; and Parliament, studiously kept in the dark on this subject, will then not dare to insist on reversing the situation so contrived: the schemers at Simla count on this. Now, these same veracious persons report that the Ameer is cordially seeking after a British Mission at Kabul! This is too thin for us here; but it serves for the *Pioneer* and the *Times* correspondent to send to your side, where the imposture will be received as authentic and grand. No doubt this report does show that intrigues are going on between Simla and Aghanistan. My own view is that the Political Department finding that direct demands on the Ameer will not serve, are trying cajolery and flattery—anything that can be done towards their lunatic scheme for once more saddling British officers on the Afghans. Then, if the deluge comes again (as it assuredly will) the lucky few will get decorations and the rest will bring about another invasion so as to grab another slice of the Ameer's territory. All this talk about railways through and beyond the Khyber, also further down in the Kuram and Thal valley, far outside our frontiers, show what schemes are afoot and serve to keep the public mind prepared for developments—now that no questions can be put in the House. As to the northern side, the scare about the Pamirs has answered the purpose of the restless clique at Simla; and now, though we were told by Sir John Gorst that there were only Kashmiri troops at Gilgit, some two or three hundred of our own Ghoorkas are being sent to that distant station in the Himalayas, and some half-dozen British officers with them. Then we have this programme of the Viceroy going in a triumphal procession to the capital of Kashmir as a demonstration that the Maharaja's kingdom has been subjugated. Where the end of this reckless game is to be, no one can tell. The Finance Minister is disgusted with this ever growing military waste of his resources: but what can he do when the raiders are backed up or winked at by the higher authorities on your side as well as on this? Meantime the whole country is in a state of dissatisfaction with the proceedings both of the Provincial and Supreme administrators."

My correspondent only briefly reviews the current effects of the revolutionary and aggressive policy I denounce, and it has been carried forward so stealthily and with so much cunning plausibility, that not half a dozen "front bench men" on either side of the House are at all aware of the almost irreparable mischief that has been done to the fabric of British Indian administration by this official conspiracy. But its disastrous results are apparent to those who will take a very little trouble to trace them. In 1873-4, under Lord Northbrook's viceroyalty, the total army charges for the year were $14\frac{1}{4}$ millions. They are now, under Lord Lansdowne, about 21 millions. During the intervening fifteen years, some 25 millions beyond those charges in a similar previous period of India's revenues, have been virtually flung into the bottomless gulf beyond the natural boundaries of India; and this, beside the 25 millions squandered on the wicked Afghan invasion of 1878-80. It is one of the most astounding facts in the brief history of "Government of India by the Crown" that this profligate waste of India's resources has been perpetuated so insidiously, that it attracts no attention from any of our prominent and responsible statesmen. I invite, nay implore, at least a few of the thoughtful and capable men amongst your readers, to take up and study this question for themselves. The first step is to realise that this scandalous abuse of our despotic power over India and its helpless people, could only have been possible by means of a subtile, ever persistent, determined, departmental and official conspiracy, which, to this hour, defies and scorns all constitutional control.

Since the above was written, the official conspiracy for promoting wholesale filibustering in High Asia has advanced a step. The small knot of powerful plotters have now secured an ally in the open—that is, the writer of the fortnightly sub-editorial in the *Times*, headed "Indian Affairs." But the more astute of the aggressive schemers will be inclined, in respect of the rampaging essay in the *Times* of Monday, the 16th, to admonish this new ally that it *is* possible to show too much zeal. What can be thought of an ostensibly serious argument for a new, and as I say revolutionary, politico-military policy, which includes such an outrageous assertion as that "The real European frontier is now in the heart of Asia," and the absurd comparisons that the British Indian frontier is in a similar military position to that of Canada and the United States, and that it is as much a necessity to fortify and defend—not indeed the real Indian frontier but—an imaginary sphere of influence in a glacial range, as it is for "Germany to hold her position on the Rhine." Declamation of this sort flings into the limbo of ignoramuses, alike Lord Salisbury's large maps, physical geography, and climatic facts; but, appearing in the columns of the *Times*, it will go down with too many of our public men who are too busy to look into the facts themselves. But this high-flying manifesto, in which is invented, by afterthought, a pompous theory to excuse the profligate expenditure during the last fifteen years, of India's resources in the sterile regions beyond her borders, is as noticeable for what it omits as for its random assertions. Though we are told that 'the fact (of the imaginary position invented by the *Times* contribution) profoundly alters the military responsibilities of Great Britain'; and, after being justly reminded that India is almost exhausted by this aggressive and defiant policy, we are reminded that, India's hemorrhage will not suffice to uphold the honour of the British Empire, unless England determines to uphold it herself, yet not a word is said as to the plain business question that is hidden by all the vapouring. That question is—seeing that this policy of abolishing the Himalaya and sticking of the Union Jack on the Roof of the World, is confessedly England's affair, and withal to the very existence of the British Empire, how much longer is unhappy India alone to sustain that cruel burden? We are told that "the resources of England (for this foolish fooling) are partly her own resources and partly those of India." Why, then, should not England provide from "her own resources" the substantial portion of the millions required for these feverish politics and crazy strategy—instead of India having to provide every shilling of it? Let that plain question be fairly answered before we are treated to any more such 'high falutin' as that in the *Times* of the 16th. As soon as responsible front bench men are brought to face that pressing question, these vapourings about trans-Himalayan strategy will shrink, as did the "thousand Russians" by whom, at first, Captain Younghusband was said to have been surrounded.—Yours truly,

W.

THE DELEGATION OF 1885.

(*Continued from page 297.*)

vote for the admission thereon of a certain proportion of Indians?

7. Will you resist the announced determination to add very largely to the military expenditure of India?
8. If you answer the above questions in the affirmative, are you prepared to support immediate action being taken in regard to them?

With each set of the questions were forwarded copies of the Leaflets (shortly to be mentioned), a copy of "India's Interest in the British Ballot Box," and (to five hundred officials,—Secretaries of Associations, Agents, and the like) the book entitled "India for the Indians—and for England." As has been stated, answers by the Parliamentary candidates of the respective constituencies to the questions were asked for. These, however, were only scantily furnished. This branch of our work, through no fault of ours, has not succeeded according to our wishes,—partly because we necessarily undertook it at too late a stage in the campaign, and, also, because your Honorary Secretary was unable (being engaged in his professional duties and in fighting a political battle as the Liberal candidate for North Paddington) to devote to the duty the time and careful attention it required. Nevertheless, in the shape of seed sown in good ground, great advantage must necessarily result from this feature of the work undertaken.

THE LEAFLETS.

The Leaflets proved very popular. So far as the limited pecuniary means at my disposal would permit, a wide diffusion of valuable literature bearing on pressing Indian questions was arranged. The Leaflets issued were as follows:

No.	Subject or Title.	Quantity Printed.
1.	Appeal from the People of India to the Electors of Great Britain and Ireland	100,000
2.	England and India: How the account stands between them. (Author: W. Martin Wood)	50,000
3.	The Burden of British-Indian Government. (Author: Wm. Digby, C.I.E.)	50,000
4.	Why is Lord Ripon loved by the Indians? ..	50,000
5.	An Imperial and Federal Policy for India. (Author: Major Evans Bell)	50,000
6.	Lancashire and India. (Author: Javerilal U. Yajnik)	50,000
	TOTAL	350,000

Of the Manifesto the *Pall Mall Gazette* remarked:—"The manifesto of the people of India to the electors of Great Britain is a document which should be read by every man who is going to the polls in November. In admirable style, with force and self-control, it summarises the relations of the two countries, and through it all runs a thread of pathos which is due not more to the natural pessimism of the race of its writers, than to the almost despairing character of the appeal itself." "In the seat of power, whether in India or in England, we are voiceless, either by person or deputy." Through the many advantages of English rule "we have become reconciled to the sway of a nation rich with the inheritance of freedom, itself the parent of many free nations sprung from its loins." "In your name great promises have been made to us. We do not say that none of these promises have been kept. Some have been fulfilled; some, again, have been wholly ignored. Of others, the statement of the greatest of your own poets has been verified—the promises have been 'kept to the ear but broken to the hope.' First among its requests is a pledge asked of every candidate that he will press for a Commission of Inquiry into Indian affairs." Other journals did not fail to write in like eulogistic terms.

Our plan in respect to the Leaflets was to distribute them, not merely at our own meetings, but at all the great meetings of Liberals and Conservatives of which we had timely notice and to which our messengers could be sent or where we could trust the officials to undertake careful distribution.

THE SHORTNESS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

Those who endeavoured to serve your Associations and thereby to benefit India had little time in which to do their work; they hope it will be felt they have not failed to use the diligence expected of them, or that they have expended their strength for naught.

The campaign was too short for the accomplishment of great results. Six weeks only elapsed between the first meeting and the commencement of the polling. Three delegates had the whole of the United Kingdom before them and only thirty-six days in which to make their voices heard; while they were speaking here and there on Indian topics, from a thousand platforms day after day, night after night, matters of the most pressing home concern were being discussed by three or four thousand speakers. The marvel is that, under the circumstances, amid the myriad voices raised in the tumult of a General Election, the delegates attracted as much attention as they did. As a matter of fact Indian issues were largely placed before the British Public in this time of test and trial, thanks alike to the ability of your representatives and to the goodness of your cause.

Lord Hampden, the late Speaker of the House of Commons, in an address delivered in Cambridgeshire some years ago, declared that it took twenty years, from inception to completion, to carry through all its stages—and to counteract a number of defeats incident to every great movement—a reform of the first class. The remark is true, with this qualification;—now that the Democracy is in power reform movements progress more quickly than they did during the forty years of middle class supremacy, of which Lord Hampden spoke. For the twenty years he mentioned read ten or fifteen and the statement still holds good. This being so, I venture to say that it might have been a misfortune had our six weeks' campaign resulted as we desired. For this reason: we should have been too far in advance of the British electors; a great gulf would have existed between leaders and led; the foundation upon which we rested would have proved unsound because only imperfectly prepared. Consequently, when in the House of Commons, had we endeavoured to put our views into the form of enactments, we should, probably, have had reverses which would have done far more harm to the cause of India than the slight stumble on the threshold, which we have encountered.

The measure of success, which has attended our effort to familiarize the public of Great Britain with the real facts of Indian administration, is the most sure and certain guarantee of final triumph.

We give, as samples of the proceedings in Britain, the splendid meeting in the Town Hall of Birmingham, and the farewell breakfast at the National Liberal Club. The perusal of these reports should serve to awaken interest, nay, enthusiasm, in the mind of not only every one present at the Nagpur meetings, but of every patriot in all parts of the Empire.

From the *Birmingham Daily Post* of Dec. 8th, 1885, we quote the report it gives of the proceedings at the great meeting in the Town Hall in full. We do this, that our readers may observe the characteristics of the speeches of the delegates, and learn how these characteristics commended themselves to British hearers. And, we quote the report in full, because we wish to place on record John Bright's magnificent speech, a speech good in itself, and notable as the great Tribune's last sustained effort for the Empire in which he took intense interest during many years of his long political life. The report is as follows:

ENGLAND'S RULE IN INDIA.

MEETING IN THE TOWN HALL.

SPEECHES BY MR. BRIGHT, M.P., AND THE INDIAN DELEGATES.

A MEETING under the auspices of the Birmingham Liberal Association was held in the Town Hall, last evening, for the purpose of hearing addresses from the three native delegates of the Indian Reform Association who recently visited Birmingham—Messrs. Manomohun Ghose, M.A. (Calcutta), N. G. Chandavarkar, LL.B. (Bombay), and S. Ramaswamy Mudaliyar, M.A. (Madras). An added interest was given to the occasion by the presence of the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P., who presided. Mr. Bright was supported on the platform by Alderman Kenrick, M.P., Alderman Powell Williams, M.P., Alderman Cook, M.P., Alderman Blades, M.P., Councillor Dr. Foster, M.P., Dr. Dale, Mr. R. Tangye; the Revds. Dr. Crosskey, E. F. M. MacCarthy, and A. O'Neill; Aldermen White, Manton, Barrow; Councillors W. S. Deakin, G. J. Johnson, A. C. Osler, Pollack, Manton, Bloor, Rogers, Lancaster, C. C. Smith, and Granger; Messrs. F. Schnadhorst, Phipson Beale, W. Harris, W. C. Plowden (late Liberal candidate for Wolverhampton), E. M. Mitton, G. Ingall, J. Allday, W. B. Vince, J. F. Godfree, T. C. Barnes, G. Docwra, J. Innes, Chattaway, W. S. Harding, W. T. Smedley, T. H. Lakins, W. Allard, W. Farrow, etc. Mr. Chamberlain, M.P., had written expressing regret that a previous engagement rendered it impossible for him to be present. Letters of apology had also been received from

Lord William Compton, M.P., Sir A. Bass, M.P., Sir C. Forster, M.P., Alderman Collings, M.P., Alderman R. Chamberlain, M.P., Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., Mr. H. G. Reid, M.P., Mr. G. Brinton, M.P., Mr. J. W. Johns, M.P., Mr. H. Wiggin, Mr. A. Chamberlain, and other gentlemen. There was a crowded audience.

Mr. BRIGHT, in opening the proceedings, said: I am glad to see that, notwithstanding the experience of the last month, you are not quite weary of coming to your noble Town Hall. I think I have seldom, perhaps never, seen a more numerous assembly in this building, and I can assure you that you have never met here on a subject that ought to be of greater interest to the great body of the English people. I am not now about to offer to you any observations upon that subject. After our friends the delegates from India have addressed you, I shall ask, with your permission, to offer a few observations on the great subject which they have had in view in visiting this country. I will, therefore, proceed to call upon them. Many of you had the pleasure of seeing them here only a very short time ago. The gentleman who sits next to me is Mr. Ghose, whose brother, you will recollect, was a candidate, not so successful as we could have wished, for one of the divisions of Greenwich. He is a delegate from Calcutta; another, who will succeed him, is from Madras; and the third is from Bombay. Mr. Ghose will take this opportunity and address this meeting on the subjects which interest him so much, and which I hope will interest all of us more after the proceedings of this meeting.

Mr. MANOMOHUN GHOSE (Calcutta), who was most heartily received, remarked that since he last appeared on that platform the turn which the elections had taken in this country had not been altogether of a very encouraging character as far as the affairs of India were concerned; but the depressing effect which that news would have on the people of India would be removed to a great extent when his colleagues and himself returned and explained how it really was that the elections had taken this unfortunate turn. But though the horizon with regard to Indian affairs was so dark, there was, at all events,

ONE BRIGHT SPOT. THE TOWN OF BIRMINGHAM,

at any rate, they were glad to find, had been true to its traditions, and had not been slow to acknowledge the great services which the great British Tribune had rendered to India. (Cheers.) On the last occasion when his brother delegates and he spoke in Birmingham, they came, as they had already publicly stated, uninvited, simply to discharge what they conceived to be a public duty. (Hear, hear.) They came on behalf of the people of India to offer their humble tribute of respect and gratitude to the Englishman who nearly all his lifetime had devoted himself to the good of India. (Cheers.) And they came at the risk of their motives and their intentions being misunderstood and misrepresented by a critic whose name, following the magnanimous example of their chairman throughout the electoral contest, he would not mention.* (Laughter.) In the case of that individual it might be excusable that he should not know the geographical divisions of India—(laughter)—or the appellations and the names by which the different races of India were known; but ignorance of the political history of India could not be overlooked. Anyone who knew the political history of the past forty years in India must have known that the people of India had one clear, straightforward duty to discharge where John Bright was concerned. (Cheers.) They felt that next to the approbation of their own consciences they had the support and approval of the great body of their countrymen at home, when they said that India could not recognise the claims of any Englishman, however high and distinguished, before those of John Bright. (Hear,

* The reference is to Lord Randolph Churchill, who tried to oust Mr. Bright from his seat and failed. The following letter will explain the incident alluded to:—

THE INDIAN DELEGATES AND LORD R. CHURCHILL.

To the Editor of the Birmingham "DAILY POST."

SIR,—With reference to the observations made by Lord Randolph Churchill in his speech, on Saturday night, at the Stratford Road Board Schools, regarding the visit of the Indian delegates to Birmingham, will you permit us to say that his lordship was quite mistaken in supposing that we had come to Birmingham at the request or suggestion of anyone belonging to the Radical or Liberal party? We wish it to be distinctly known that we came here on Saturday entirely of our own accord, and not for any party purposes whatever, nor with any desire to oppose any particular candidate, but simply with the object of offering, on behalf of the people of India, our tribute of respect and gratitude to Mr. John Bright, who, for the last forty years of his public life, has laboured earnestly and incessantly for the good of our country, and than whom no Englishman is more truly loved or respected by the Indian people.

As regards the remarks of Lord Randolph Churchill questioning our representative character, we need only observe that we have been deputed by the leading Associations in different parts of India, acting in concert with one another, and we presume that it was in consideration of this fact that his lordship, shortly after our arrival in this country, did us the honour of granting us an interview at the India Office.

We may be also permitted to express our surprise that Lord Randolph Churchill, who has himself visited India, and now fills the high office of Secretary of State for that country, should have fallen into the error of describing all three of us as "Bengalese" or "Baboos," while, as a matter of fact, neither expression would be applicable to two of us, who do not come from Bengal.

M. GHOSE (Calcutta).
N. CHANDAVARKAR (Bombay).
S. R. MUDALIYAR (Madras).

Queen's Hotel, Birmingham, November 23rd.

hear.) Dealing
the policy of the Gov
of British rule, was pro
much for England's own be
that country. (Hear, hear.)
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higher and more unselfish aim, an aim
civilised, and—they might permit him to a
In the sincerity of that declaration the Indian peo
times most anxious to believe, not merely becaus
embodied in various acts of Parliament and in declaration
British Sovereigns, but because the English people had given t
evidence of their intention in the fact that they had almost from t
commencement been imparting to the Indian people that learning and that civilization which had made them what they are at the present day. (Cheers.) So far back as 1833 the British Parliament after full and anxious deliberation in both Houses, came to the conclusion that

ENGLISH RULE IN INDIA COULD ONLY BE JUSTIFIED

by placing the natives of that country on

THE FOOTING OF PERFECT EQUALITY WITH ENGLISHMEN.

Accordingly, in the reign of William it was enacted that no native of India should by reason of his birth, descent, or colour, be disabled from filling any place, office, or employment under the East India Company. This enactment was followed by a remarkable despatch sent to the Governor-General by the directors of the East India Company, and which stated that "there shall be no governing caste in British India." Having referred to the similar declaration contained in the Queen's proclamation on taking over the government of India from the Company, Mr. Ghose said that though these declarations, as the Indian people believed, correctly represented the voice of the great English nation, there had been at all times insuperable difficulties in the way of practically carrying them out, and no difficulty greater than that caused by the want of sympathy in the Anglo-Indian officials towards the natives of the country. (Hear, hear.) The majority of the promises contained in the declarations he had quoted remained only fulfilled to the ear but broken to the hope. ("Shame!") The higher ranks of the military service were practically closed against a native of India, however great his abilities might be, or however meritorious, however long, and however varied, the services he might have rendered. ("Shame!") Admission to the ranks of the covenanted Indian Civil Service, though not so rigidly closed, was practically all but closed—the admission being regulated by a competitive examination held annually in London, and Indian candidates having to come to England at a very tender age to compete with Englishmen in the latter's own language. ("Shame!") Out of a total of 900 members of the Covenanted Civil Service, at the present moment, there were only nine natives of India. ("Shame!") And even with regard to these nine he regretted to say that the Anglo-Indian community were extremely anxious that these few gentlemen should not enjoy the same privileges and the same status as were enjoyed by their English colleagues. They had a very remarkable illustration of that feeling in

THE VIOLENT, ALMOST FANATICAL, OPPOSITION

which was offered by Anglo-Indians to the Ilbert Bill. The results of the feeling then aroused had been far more disastrous to the general administration of India than was generally known in this country. But the natives of India had no reason to regret that agitation, for it had been the means of uniting for the first time

THE VARIED NATIONALITIES OF THEIR COUNTRY INTO ONE COMMON BOND.

(Cheers.) Englishmen in India had shown how their countrymen were in the habit of fighting for their own rights and privileges, and they must not be surprised to find the Indian people ready to take advantage of the example. (Cheers.) The only ground that the Indian people had for regretting that agitation was that it had tended to create stronger prejudice in the Anglo-Indian mind. This prejudice had acted disastrously upon the English judiciary in India, and had made impartial administration of justice between race and race well-nigh impracticable. ("Shame!") He made that assertion with a full sense of the responsibility which attached to the making of it, and if time had permitted he could have given numerous instances from his own knowledge to show how lamentably justice had miscarried since the period to which he had referred. The reorganisation of the legislative councils of India was a topic that was engaging the public mind in that country. In their legislative councils they had no representation of any kind. In India laws were made, and taxes were imposed, without consulting the feelings or the wishes of the people, for whom the laws were made, and upon whom the taxes were levied. It was not the wish of the Indian people that the affairs of their country should be made a party question. They were not unmindful of the fact that English statesmen of both political parties had vied with each other in pursuing a policy of justice and generosity towards the people of India; that the very proclamation of the Queen, which he had quoted, was made when her Majesty's adviser was a Conservative statesman, the present Earl of Derby, and that there had been no more popular Secretary of State for India than Sir Stafford Northcote. (Applause.) But the appointment of Lord Lytton—(hisses)—as Viceroy marked a period in the history of the relations between the

[illegible] mpelled to [illegible] great English [illegible] a threw himself so [illegible] ncialdom, and pursued [illegible] owards the people of India [illegible] ould lose all faith in the party [illegible] Lord Lytton was followed by a [illegible] ct formed a marked contrast with his [illegible]—(cheers)—within a very short time secured [illegible] e attachment of the Indian people. He (the [illegible] that he was expressing the unanimous sentiment of [illegible] rom one end to the other when he said that no Viceroy in [illegible] ory of British India had done more to cement the bonds of [illegible] n between England and India than Lord Ripon. (Loud cheers.) He believed that

THE OUTBURST OF LOYALTY

on the part of the people of India when they made common cause with the English people in defying the threats of Russia was

ENTIRELY DUE TO THE FEELINGS WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD RIPON HAD EVOKED.

(Cheers.) The Indian people, who did not know anything about the exigencies of party politics in England, were amazed when they heard of the treatment which Lord Ripon received from his political opponents in this country; they could not understand how it was that such a Viceroy should be attacked in such an outrageous manner as that in which Lord Ripon was attacked in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for India. (Groans.) The Indian people had not only the declarations of Mr. Gladstone—(cheers)—and other leaders of the Liberal party by which to judge of the attitude of that party towards India, but they had their acts. (Cheers.) On the other hand they had the declarations of Lord Salisbury—(groans)—made two years ago: "I don't see what is the use of this political hypocrisy. It does not deceive the natives of India. They know perfectly well that they are governed by a superior race—(laughter)—and that all this tall talk is hollow and unreal." Lord Salisbury questioned the sincerity and honesty of the national declarations with regard to the concession of equality to the people of India; but the people of India had a right to take Lord Salisbury at his word. He (the speaker) had been asked why the Indian people did not follow the example of their Irish fellow-subjects in their attitude towards the great English parties? His answer was that the Indian people believed in the sense of justice of the English people, and in the great English maxim, "Honesty is the best policy." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. S. RAMASWAMY MUDALIYAR, who was received with loud cheering, said that on the last occasion when he addressed a Birmingham audience, the town, though sure of success, was waiting with anxiety the result of the contest. Now, however, they had achieved a great victory—(applause)—and were resting on their oars, so that there was a good opportunity to bring before their notice the claims of India. The one great question that was vexing them in that country was the financial question. Year after year they had to contend against deficits, on each occasion the question of how to make the two ends meet being foremost. It was now becoming absolutely necessary that the British Parliament should interest itself in the matter more than it had hitherto done. (Hear, hear.) Certainly, as a matter of form, the Indian Budget was introduced every year before that body, but practically it received no consideration at its hands. If it would but give its mind properly to the subject it would find some means of bringing about a reform in the right direction. (Hear, hear.) Another question was

THE EXTENSION OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

in India. (Hear, hear.) In this respect the people were much indebted to Lord Ripon—(applause)—whose proposals, however, were met with such opposition that he was not able to effect all he wanted. They asked for nothing more than the people of India being allowed to manage their own local affairs to a greater extent than at present. (Cheers.) They did not ask for anything that in any way tended, even slightly to weaken the connection between India and England, but they thought the extension they asked for, would serve to strengthen it. If the introduction of useful and self-governing institutions in England had done so much for the benefit of this country, why should not such institutions be introduced into India? The way to teach self-government is to begin with the villagers, and let them manage their own local affairs, for if they could not do that they could not satisfactorily attend to the affairs of the country, which they ought to do in the course of time, if the country was to be well governed. He and his colleagues would be returning to India very soon, and it was not likely that the interest in Indian affairs could be kept alive without some movement or other. In Aberdeen there had been formed an Indian Association, of which Dr. Hunter, M.P. was president. If such a society could not be formed in Birmingham, perhaps the Liberal Association—which was as powerful as any institution in the country—would take up the Indian problem, and put itself in communication with the various organisations in that country, with a view to arousing the interest of the people on the questions affecting their fellow-subjects in India. If this course would be adopted, the delegates would feel that their visit was not in vain. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. N. G. CHANDAVARKAR, who also met with an enthusiastic reception, expressed his hearty thanks for the kind welcome accorded to him and his colleagues. When the tide of the election began it was in favour of the Conservatives—(hisses)—and as a result all the friends of India, with one or two exceptions, failed to get into Parliament. Then one of the journals suggested that the Indian delegates could return home wiser and sadder men. (Laughter and hisses.) No doubt they would return home wiser men—(cheers)—but they might take it for granted that they would not return sadder men. (Laughter and cheers.) It seemed curious, if not remarkable, that those candidates who claimed support on the ground of sympathy for India have failed and those who said that India must be ruled by the strong hand have succeeded. ("Never mind," and cheers.) No, he did not mind it one bit; nor would the people of India mind it. (Cheers.) The journal he spoke of had been shouting too soon. The object of the delegates in coming to England was

TO INTEREST THE ENGLISH PEOPLE IN INDIAN QUESTIONS.

Notwithstanding the results of the elections, the Indian people need not be disappointed. In the end the sense of justice and fair play which was inherent in Englishmen would assert itself in regard to Indian questions. (Hear, hear.) It was true they deeply regretted the failure of Mr. Lalmohun Ghose to obtain a seat. But it should be remembered that he was a stranger fighting against a rich landlord of the constituency and the local prejudice which existed. Yet he polled 3,560 as against his opponent's 3,927. (Cheers.) That circumstance alone showed their efforts were not in vain, and Mr. Ghose, it must be admitted, had fought a gallant fight. It was not a substantial victory, but it was a moral victory, and ere long he would find a place in the House of Commons. ("Send him to Birmingham," and cheers.) Another election resulted in the failure of Mr. Slagg, and in this result was felt great disappointment. Mr. Slagg had taken a great interest in Indian affairs, and it was to be hoped he, too, would soon find a seat. But, with these disappointments in view, they would not return sadder men as long as justice lived, as long as truth lived,

SO LONG AS JOHN BRIGHT LIVED.

(Loud cheers.) No, nor so long as their cause was fair and just; and they would carry on their work relying on the sense of fair play so dear to Englishmen. (Renewed cheers.) They had previously been in Birmingham, not, however, as was suggested, by any invitation. They came of their own accord, to show their respect to a great statesman; and if they had not done so the Indian people would have been ashamed of them. (Cheers.) He was a statesman who for the last thirty years had spoken, perhaps in the wilderness, the words of justice, fairness, and truth in the cause of India. (Hear, hear.) There was one fact the country should have before it prominently. The people of India were loyal to the British Crown—(cheers)—that they were loyal and were attached to the British Crown there could be no doubt. But had that loyalty been recognised in a substantial manner? ("No.") Take, for instance, an incident during the Soudan war, where a Sikh soldier behaved with so much heroism and self-sacrifice that his conduct was noticed by the special correspondents as deserving of the Victoria Cross, if ever any conduct deserved it. No notice had been officially taken of it. And why? Because, to use the phrase of Lord Salisbury,

THE COLOURED MILLIONS OF INDIA WERE NOT FIT FOR THE VICTORIA CROSS.

("Shame!") During the last Parliament, when the Russian difficulty created so much stir and excitement, the people and princes of India rushed as it were to assure the Viceroy that they were loyal to the British Crown. Some of the educated classes then said that the best way to recognise that display of loyalty was to allow them to enlist as volunteers. Petition after petition was signed to that effect, but no reply was received. ("Shame!") It was proposed that the natives should enlist on a limited scale, but no; no notice was taken of it. People were often under a wrong impression as to the condition of the people of India. The late Lord Mayo spoke of it in 1867 as one of a purely miserable existence. Lord Ripon in 1881 said

THE "POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA IS A NOTORIOUS FACT,"

and that the average yearly income was £2. With regard to the military expenditure, Lord Canning laid it down that it ought not to exceed twelve and a-half millions a year. In 1879 an army commission was appointed, and its report stated that "there was some truth in the statement of those who say that India exists for the army, and not the army for India." ("Shame!") It recommended retrenchment; yet the expenditure was now twenty millions sterling. If the people got up some cry of wrong it was long, if at all, before any notice was taken of it; but the case was very different with the Anglo-Indian officials. They no sooner said there was a block in the promotion list than £7,500 compensation was paid them. ("Oh, oh!") He contended that the promises made to India in 1833, and again in 1853, in 1858, in 1861, and in 1870, had not been carried out to the extent that was necessary. ("Shame!") He would remind Englishmen that nations in the past had conquered empires, that they had ruled with a view to their own interests, and, when weighed in the balance were found wanting, Providence had cast them aside. (Hear, hear.) It was easy to conquer and easy to rule with a strong hand. There might be glory in it; but there was the imperishable glory of which history should speak—the glory of having educated

and enlightened a fallen nation. (Cheers.) All that the Indians asked was that the rule of despotism having been tried in the past and failed, that the rule should be such that the ruled should be led to think they are at one with the rulers—such would strengthen the connection Providence had formed between England and India. (Loud cheering.)

Mr. BRIGHT, who was loudly cheered on rising, spoke as follows: I said, in opening the proceedings this evening, that you were not tired of coming to the Town Hall, and that I thought

WE HAD NEVER ASSEMBLED HERE,

in the nearly thirty years that I have been accustomed to come here,

FOR THE DISCUSSION OF A QUESTION OF GREATER IMPORTANCE

than that which has brought us together to-night. The deputation have, in my opinion, very worthily sustained their character—(hear, hear)—and have delivered to this magnificent audience the message which they were commissioned by the millions of their countrymen to convey to us. (Hear.) They represent, I believe—I will not say directly—the countless millions of their countrymen, but they represent a very large proportion of all those people of India who have received education in the schools and colleges and universities which exist in that country, and which the English Power in India has done so much to promote; and we here to-night, several thousands met in this hall, may be taken to be a fair representation of the average population of this kingdom. And these delegates come from the millions of India and appeal to the great body of the right-thinking and right-acting portion of the population of this island. (Cheers.) We are not precisely the persons, but we are the children of those, who conquered and who subjugated India, and we know, through our representatives in Parliament and our leaders in statesmanship, we now are doing—I will not say our best, but something in order to govern them in a rational manner. (Hear, hear.) I cannot help feeling as I stand here, and these distinguished Indian gentlemen sit by me, I cannot but think that there must pass over their minds

SOME SLIGHT FEELING OF HUMILIATION IN THE POSITION IN WHICH THEY ARE PLACED.

They come from India, with that countless population, and they come to us, and they appeal to us, they plead before us; they ask us to take into consideration their grievances, and to listen with intent mind to the claims which they submit to us. And I can imagine that if I were one of them I should feel the position in which I stood was one of some humiliation. (Hear, hear.) But, on the other hand, that feeling is balanced by

A NOBLE CONSCIOUSNESS THAT THEY ARE DOING THAT WHICH APPEARS TO BE AND IS UNDOUBTEDLY THE BEST THAT THEY CAN DO,

or that any of their countrymen can do, at this moment for the millions they are permitted to represent. (Cheers.) Why, who is it that they plead for? We speak of the millions of India. They speak for a population exceeding the population of the United Kingdom, of France, of Germany, of Austria, of the Great Russian Empire—the whole of these populations together do not make up a number combined greater than the number of the population of India which these gentlemen here to-night are permitted to represent, and may glory that they are permitted to represent. (Cheers.) And

ALL THAT THEY ASK

of us is this—that measure of justice and right which governments in all ages and in all countries have owed, but, I am sorry to say, have very seldom granted, to the nations under their rule. ("Shame!") Now, I will not go back to the strange events which have brought India and England into the position in which they are now found. I think it would be only to rake up old stories, which, as far as England is concerned, to a large extent we would wish might be forgotten. I would not recount what an American poet, Mr. Bryant, says that he would not recount—the horrid tale of perfidy and strife, murder and spoil, which men call history. Well, I will not recount them. We will, if you like, on this occasion close the door on all the past, and we will allow and beg the dead to bury their dead. (Applause.) From what you have heard from our friends to-night you will have discovered that there are two classes of persons, two orders of men, who are greatly interested in the Indian question. There are those who say—it is a very common thing to hear—"India has been won by the sword, and by the sword only can it be kept." ("Shame!") Well, these people do not seem to remember what we have all noticed:

NOT UNFREQUENTLY THE SWORD IS BROKEN

in the hand of him that uses it—(hear, hear)—and the time may come when, if you decide to hold India only by the sword, that sword may be broken, and India after all may be permitted to escape from your power. (Hear, hear.) But there is another class, and a class with which I have much more sympathy—a class who are willing, men who are willing, to measure the vast responsibility of the position which England holds, and would, if possible, make some compensation for the past, and would

GIVE TO INDIA WHATSOEVER OF FREEDOM IS POSSIBLE,

and whatsoever of good our civilisation can bestow upon her. (Hear, hear.) Now, these are the two classes of persons between whom the great discussion is constantly going on of what shall be the policy of England to India. Now, I think the prevailing policy in this country, the enormously prevailing policy, is ... and kindness, and generosity to the Indi... point to the characters of our recent Gove... have known several of them with a certain de... my long attendance upon the English Parliam... Mayo as one. (Hear, hear.) He was of the Con... most of you well know. I come to Lord Northbro... Ripon—(applause)—and now to Lord Dufferin. I say ... men—I will say it of Lord Dufferin—I trust we shall ... those of us who will live to witness the termination of his ... India—I say of these men, that they have had a real and genuin... honest sympathy with the interests of the great population they were sent out to rule over. (Applause.) Now,

IT IS A MATTER OF DEEP REGRET

—I regret it as much as my friends near me who have spoken to-night—it is a matter of deep regret

IF THESE DISTINGUISHED NATIVES OF INDIA HAVE NOT BEEN FAIRLY MET BY THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY

there. (Hear, hear.) If there be any obstacle more persistent and unwearying than another to any generous treatment, to confidence, to increased freedom for the population of India, it is to be found in the Anglo-Indian community—the civilians, the officials of the Indian Government—and, I am afraid to say, but believe, also amongst many of the English who are living in India, engaged in speculations, and plantations, and enterprises of various characters. Don't let it be supposed that there are not splendid and brilliant exceptions. I have had the good fortune to meet during the last forty years a very large number of gentlemen of the Civil Service who have returned from India—some of the military service also—and I must say that, judging from their character and conversation, I have found them—perhaps other people do not seek any communication with them—but I have found them frequently—I would say most frequently—actuated by high and kindly motives in their judgment and treatment of the population of India. (Cheers.) We must bear in mind that

THIS CIVIL SERVICE IS A WRONG ESTABLISHMENT, A FAVOURED MONOPOLY.

Now, monopoly is the same almost everywhere. (Laughter.) It is very unteachable, it never yields till it is forced to yield. (Laughter.) You know in this country there are monopolists yet. (Laughter.) As the election is over one may even point to the monopoly in ecclesiastical affairs. (Loud laughter and cheers.) These gentlemen who go out to India go out very young—(laughter)—very much younger, I am quite sure, than would permit them to be employed in equally responsible offices in this country. (Hear, hear.) They have a fair, a reasonable, salary—(laughter)—it increases very largely in after years. They come, even in middle life, to a period that they can retire from the service, and they can have handsome pensions, and I find them here—I am sure it speaks much for their prudence or for the climate—I find them in middle life quite as active and as healthy and blooming—(laughter)—as the best fed and the best conducted men who remain all their lives in this country. (Hear.) Now all these servants in India are, judging from appointments at home, and judging from the appointments which other countries make of servants similarly circumstanced, all

THESE CIVIL SERVANTS ARE PAID

at what we should call not only very handsome, but I often think

AT AN EXTRAVAGANT RATE.

(Hear, hear.) And you must bear this in mind also, that these Englishmen themselves know—of course, know—it is not that they suspect, but they know that they are of the conquering race; and we know also that, with many honourable exceptions, they regard the natives as the conquered race—("Shame!")—and it seems to them natural that they should deal out to the conquered race that kind of justice and generosity—of a very moderate character—(laughter)—which is dealt out all over the world and in all periods of history to the subjugated and to the feeble. The time has come when the people of England, and the Government of England, are called on to decide which policy shall hereafter be honestly and fairly adopted in our treatment of those whose fortunes and whose fate for the time seem to be placed in our hands. I should say really that that policy was practically decided when the Government determined, as far as was in its power, to promote the education of the people of India. When schools were established, colleges were founded, universities were planted, and the people of India—the most intelligent of them—were invited to educate themselves just as freely and as fully as the most educated class here, then it seemed to me that the question was practically decided what should be the future policy of England to her great dependency in Asia. (Cheers.) Conceive all these people you know—no: you don't know—how many millions there are, but there are millions, they are almost countless. Well, amongst these you must know that

THERE ARE GREAT NUMBERS WHO ARE CAPABLE, INTELLECTUALLY CAPABLE,

who like literature, like learning, like scholarship, like to know everything that the most educated men in this country know. You well know, for instance, that they learn our language. I need not tell you that. (Laughter and cheers.) We might many of us learn

...o-night of the manner in which ...ated race in India. Well, not the ...re and the science; and over all India ...nen by scores and thousands, and they ...her, and they combine, and they are not ...on in which they are at present placed. (Hear, ..., the speeches of to-night will be to-morrow, or ...y, published and criticised in the journals of India. ...w what has been done with regard to the favourable ...ou have given to their delegates; they know what has ...ting this country during the last two or three weeks; they ... about the recent election, the discussion that has taken place, and they know about the result—(laughter)—which, I suspect, has disappointed a good many people who were very much excited only about a fortnight ago. (Laughter and cheers.) They know how our people manage their institutions; how we decide who shall be and shall form the administration of the country; and they know how we adopt, and how we endeavour to enforce, our principles, our political principles, and how free people work their institutions. Well, now, they know that

SUCH A GOVERNMENT AS EXISTS IN INDIA WOULD NOT BE TOLERATED FOR A SINGLE DAY BY THE PEOPLE IN ENGLAND.

(Hear, hear.) They have a free press now, and they are permitted to hold great meetings, and—notwithstanding all that has been said and that I am saying about the Indian Government—I say the fact that that great population is permitted

A FREE PRESS

and is permitted to hold meetings, is something to the lasting honour of this country—(cheers)—and

SOMETHING THAT MUST LEAD NECESSARILY TO A MORE ADVANCED FREEDOM.

I think it was during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Ripon that the shackles which were upon the Indian press were removed—(hear, hear)—and it is not to be wondered at, that the people of India should feel for Lord Ripon that sympathy and enthusiasm which were exhibited to such an extraordinary extent as he passed from Calcutta to the port at which he took passage for England. (Cheers.) You have heard read to you to-night a paragraph from the Act of Parliament of 1833, and another paragraph from the admirable Proclamation of the Queen in the year 1858. Now, a supporter of the present system would say, "We agree with that Act of Parliament, and with that proclamation, and we do not exclude people because of their race." They are all, according to those proclamations, justified in wishing to have appointments. But the monopoly system is so active, and so persistent, and so omnipresent, that without leaving a man out because his skin is not as white as mine,

THEY PASS HIM OVER AND APPOINT THE MAN WITH THE WHITE SKIN,

("Shame!") They leave the Act of Parliament upon the statute book, and they leave the Proclamation of the Queen before the world, and they know that the people of England are aware of the existence of these documents; and yet for all that, in all their greatest appointments, they pass over the Indian and give the place of great honour, of great emolument, of a great pension—they give that to the Englishman, one of the small handful in the country, and forget the educated and honourable men, of whom there are thousands, natives of the country, and who ought surely to have some claim. (Cheers.) There is one point, now, I would like to mention, that has not been touched upon to-night: that is with regard to the appointment of judges in India. I have known of some judges sent from this country to India, and I believe I shall only express the general opinion of the legal profession here, when I say that

SOME MEN HAVE GONE AS JUDGES TO INDIA, THAT NO GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE APPOINTED TO THE BENCH HERE.

(Laughter, "Shame!", and cheers.) But there are men in India, and not a few, lawyers of most eminent ability and character, who are just as good for judges as the best judges that we could send from England, and, no doubt, would be better than some who are not of the best. (Laughter.)

IN ALL BRANCHES UNDER THE GOVERNMENT I BELIEVE IT WOULD NOT BE IMPOSSIBLE TO FIND NATIVES OF INDIA

who would be on an average as good as those persons who are appointed, who are natives of England; and they would not be appointed as young boys—(laughter)—and they would not be allowed to come away under middle age. They would be of more mature age when they were appointed; they would adhere to their service longer; they would have no wish to come away as soon as they had earned their pension, but would remain there as long during their lives as they were capable of honest service; and I believe it would be immensely better for India if such a system as that were adopted instead of the one of favouritism that is in existence now. (Cheers.) It would cost much less to the Government, for the people of India, however eminent and however capable, would not think themselves underpaid with salaries considerably below those that are now paid to the English servants of the Government—(hear, hear)—and if the financial relief was not afforded it would only be missed by the fact that smaller districts might be governed throughout the country, and the Government served much better, by men not having more to do than it is possible for a man to undertake. (Hear, hear.) Well, the time has come, I say—we say here to-night, all of us, I don't know how many thousands; and we speak, I believe, the opinion of all the English people who have paid any attention to this subject—we say that

THE TIME IS COME

when India is not in future to be a mere pasture-ground for the young men of this island. (Loud cheers.) Reference has been made to-night to what is done in our colonies.

WHAT WOULD THE CANADIANS SAY

if all the officers of their Government, not only Lord Lansdowne, who is the Governor-General of Canada, but all his Ministers, and all his magistrates, or nearly so—all the principal ones—and all the great officers of State, were Englishmen? What would they say in Sydney, or in Melbourne, or in New Zealand, if our Government were to propose to treat them in the manner in which the populations of India are treated?

(A VOICE: "THEY WOULDN'T HAVE IT!")

No, of course not. (Cheers.) The time, I say, has come when England must learn this great lesson, that her absolute rule in her Asiatic empire is temporary. The duration of it will depend far more upon wisdom than upon force. (Cheers.)

WISDOM SUGGESTS AND URGES A POLICY THAT WILL CONCILIATE MILLIONS,

and arrangements that will enable India to enter tranquilly on the path of self-government and independence. Now, I have been reading within the last few days a very remarkable book upon the whole of this question. It is called "New India, or India in Transition." The author of it is Mr. Cotton, of the Bengal Civil Service. It is published by Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., in London. I give these particulars because I wish to state that I think nothing could be more happy for this country and India in regard to Indian questions than that that book should be carefully read by every man who during the last fortnight has been elected to sit in the House of Commons. I observe that in one part of this book Mr. Cotton comes upon a point which has a special interest for me, in which he speaks of a possible future, in which those who come after us may speak of

THE UNITED STATES OF INDIA.

I have an interest in it for this reason, because in the year 1858, when the bill transferring the Government of India from the India Company to the Crown was passed through Parliament, I made a speech of some length on the principles of Indian Government, as I was able to comprehend them, and I argued that

THE HOLD OF ENGLAND UPON INDIA WAS NOT GUARANTEED TO BE PERPETUAL;

that the time might come, as I have not the least doubt it will come, when the English power will from some necessity or other be withdrawn from India. When that time comes—suppose it were to come to-morrow—with these two hundred millions of people, divided into, I think I have said, and I am far below the mark, into twenty nations and more than twenty different languages—if such a thing were to happen to-morrow India would be in chaos. In all probability you would have ancient families rising up in some pretender to the Throne or to the Rajahship, and you would have military chieftains all over the country, endeavouring to obtain power in particular districts, and fighting with each other; and in all probability the catastrophe to India would be one of the most deplorable character. I argued that, therefore,

BECAUSE YOUR RULE IS NOT PERMANENT,

and cannot endure for ever, that

YOU OUGHT TO LOOK FORWARD,

and not to say, because all is tolerably smooth sailing now, that it will always be smooth sailing. You should look forward and see what would happen if such a state of things as I have described were to come, and what is the mode by which you may fortify yourselves against it, and make it impossible or unlikely that it ever should come. I proposed then, and if I were listened to I would propose now, that

INDIA SHOULD NEVER BE HELD AS A WHOLE

—the two hundred or two hundred and fifty millions under the same general government, with no national feeling whatever growing up in the country. I proposed at that time and suggested that it would be very desirable to divide the great Empire of India, not into Presidencies as it is divided now, but into Presidencies of a more distinct and independent character, the object being that whenever the time came that English power was withdrawn it would be possible for each Presidency to become a nation, and becoming a nation to save itself from that catastrophe and that chaos to which I have a short time ago referred. (Applause.) Well, I find that Mr. Cotton, evidently with much more knowledge of affairs in India than I have, seems to broach that kind of view, and to say that you should have your Presidencies to a large extent independent, and that the time would come when they might combine, and under some form of confederation that they might become the Confederated or United States of India. (Loud cheers.) Now, I shall be told by

THE SORT OF CRITIC THAT I HAVE OFTEN HAD TO MEET,

that all this is visionary and unnecessary, that nothing on the whole could be better than the state of things in India. The people are docile, anxious even to fight the Russians for you—though the Russians have not the smallest idea of allowing them to fight against

her. Well, they say, why should you disturb the present order? The Governor-General, it is well-known, can snap up a little kingdom as large as France in two or three weeks of military operations. What could be better than the present state of things? Does it not offer to our young men, I do not know how many scores of them a year, the opportunity of going out there to earn a livelihood in the service of the Government, to obtain for themselves handsome salaries and handsome pensions, and many of them to do for it very great and noble service? Why should you disturb all this? In my opinion,

STATESMANSHIP CONSISTS QUITE AS MUCH IN FORESEEING AS IN DOING.

(Cheers.) Think you, if the statesmen of this country had foreseen one hundred years or two hundred years ago what would be the result of their policy in our neighbour country—in Ireland—do you think that we should have the strange and disagreeable difficulty that our statesmen and Parliament have at the present moment? No. Statesmanship, as I say, consists of foreseeing quite as much as of doing; and I think—I do not pretend, and never have pretended—to be a statesman—(laughter, and loud cheering)—yet I have always deemed myself a simple citizen, bringing to the consideration of political questions that common sense, whatever it may be, with which I have been gifted, and which is not warped by the aspirations, the contests, and the ambitions, of statesmen. (Great cheering.) It may be said: "Let us leave the great Indian problem to solve itself." Well, leave it—and it will solve itself. And it will solve itself, I do not doubt, in some terrible disaster to India, and some sore and lasting dishonour to England. (Hear, hear.)

IT IS THE GREAT QUESTION WHICH IS COMING UP—IT CANNOT BE DENIED.

Step by step it draws nearer. The question for us is, is there intelligence enough amongst our people, and

IS THERE WISDOM ENOUGH AMONGST OUR STATESMEN

to meet this great question as it approaches? I will not say whether there is that intelligence

AMONGST OUR PEOPLE; BUT THERE IS GOODWILL.

(Hear, hear.) I will not say that there is wisdom sufficient amongst our statesmen; but, whether there be or not, the question is one which cannot be got rid of. It comes every day nearer and nearer, and somebody must give an answer to it. (Loud cheering.)

Dr. (now Sir W.) FOSTER, M.P., proposed: "That this meeting expresses its cordial sympathy with the Indian delegates in their present mission, and trust that their efforts may tend to deepen the interest of the English people in the condition of India, and to promote the development of freedom and justice in the government of that great dependency." Dr. Foster remarked that it was most important that great centres of population, like Birmingham, should know more of the people of India, in order that mutual interest might arise to the advantage of both peoples. (Hear, hear.) Hitherto they had received their accounts of the Indian people chiefly from official sources; but the picture that had been so received was by no means a correct picture. A closer acquaintance with the Indian people, as they really were, he hoped, would lead to the granting to them of a wider freedom and a wider justice than had hitherto been granted to them. Now that the people of England had been wholly enfranchised and were claiming a complete system of local self-government, they would, he believed, be the more ready to grant that enfranchisement and self-government not only to the people of India, but to their fellow subjects nearer at hand. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. PHIPSON BEALE seconded the motion, observing that the average English opinion on Indian subjects was very often peculiar. There was that dull, unenquiring opposition to Lord Ripon's policy that there was at home to all legislation for the benefit of the people. Some talked about prestige, but it was only a spurious article, which he was sorry to say they manufactured at home, and which was not accepted abroad. (Laughter.)

The resolution having been agreed to unanimously,

Mr. (now Sir W.) PLOWDEN proposed: "That the best thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Bright for his attendance and conduct in the chair." (Cheers.) Mr. Plowden explained that though he was formerly one of those "blooming monopolists," which had been described so eloquently by Mr. Bright, he was not one of them now, except in his sympathy for his friends in India. (Cheers.) Mr. Bright said he did not pretend to be a statesman. Every one knew there was no pretence about him—(laughter and cheers)—and above everything in his sympathy for the people of England. As to India itself, the question of local self-government was as prominently to the front as it was in this country. Lord Ripon's proposals were very good in their way, but they did not go far enough for what was wanted. (Cheers.)

Alderman BLADES, M.P., in seconding the resolution, expressed a wish that every politician was as honest and courageous as was Mr. Bright. He had always righteousness and truth, and had had the courage to walk out of the Cabinet rather than go against his principles. The nation honoured John Bright—(cheers)—it loved John Bright—(cheers)—and was proud of him, not only because he was noble and brave, but because he had always stood by the people, and because he had done colossal work for the great Liberal cause.

Mr. BRIGHT, in reply, said: I have nothing to say in addition to what I have said except to thank you for your presence here to-night, and for the remarkable attention which you have paid to all that has been addressed to you. I hope our assembling here, and the speeches that we have heard from the gentlemen who have come from India to visit us, and, I would say, to instruct us—I hope that some good—we cannot measure it now; it may not show itself to-day, or to-morrow, or this year—but that some good, and it may be a considerable good—(hear, hear)—may spring from the evening we have spent together, and from the instructive speeches which we have heard from gentlemen to whom we owe so much, and for whose countrymen, if we strive for it, we can do much. (A voice: "We'll do it.") Hitherto, I am afraid to say, we have done very little. I have no doubt but that the report of this meeting will create a very considerable interest in India, and I would beg of you that the hopes it may raise there may not be disappointed, and that you should cherish in your hearts the feelings of sympathy, and goodwill, and justice, which has been stirred within you by the discussions of this evening. (Cheers.)

The meeting then separated.

BREAKFAST TO THE INDIAN DELEGATES.

A farewell breakfast to the Indian Delegates took place at the National Liberal Club on December 16th, under the chairmanship of Dr. Hunter, M.P., at which were present Professor Thorold Rogers, M.P., Dr. Clark, M.P., Messrs. Manomohun Ghose (Calcutta), S. Ramasawmy Mudaliyar (Madras), Lalmohun Ghose, J. O'Connor Power, W. E. Briggs, Wm. Digby, C.I.E., J. P. Clayton, J. Martin Wood, F. W. Chesson, R. Gowing, James Drake Digby, J. P. Haslam, and a number of English sympathisers with the natives of India, and several native gentlemen. Mr. N. Chandavarkar, the Bombay delegate, was not present, having left on Friday night last by the overland route. This gentleman, during his stay in England, addressed eighteen meetings, and an aggregate of over 26,000 persons, and has taken back with him to Bombay a lively sense of the sympathy of the English public, in spite of the sneers of two or three organs of Anglo-Indian officialdom. Mr. Ramasawmy Mudaliyar left last night for Paris, *en route* for Brindisi, Mr. Manomohun Ghose and his wife following in a few days, but Mr. Lalmohun Ghose remains to carry on the work which has been begun so well by the delegates.

The CHAIRMAN characterised the mission of the delegates as entirely successful. They had not visited England for the object which some had ascribed to them—viz., to introduce a new element into our elections of forcing candidates on the British electors solely for Indian reasons, without any reference to home questions. Their object was to create an interest at home in Indian affairs, and in that they had been entirely successful, as the meetings which they had held in London, Birmingham, Manchester, and as far north as Aberdeen had testified. They would never forget the reception they had met with everywhere; their utterances had met with such a response as he believed they never anticipated. He, of course, regretted that their friend Mr. Lalmohun Ghose had not been successful at Deptford. He hoped that his want of success might not be misunderstood by the people of India. The Conservative party required every seat they could possibly obtain, and he did not think they could complain that they had not allowed Mr. Ghose to take the seat at Deptford. The defeat of Mr. Ghose did not depend upon Mr. Ghose or upon India, but had simply reference to the Liberal party. That contest had demonstrated two things—first, that an English constituency was willing to sacrifice its predilections for an English candidate in order to give a native of India an opportunity to bring forward in the Legislature the grievances of his country; and second, that a native of India could make himself master of those home questions in which they were all interested. He had been surprised at the intelligence which Mr. Ghose had displayed, and the facility with which he had mastered English political questions. They parted with their friends that day with good spirits, and they earnestly hoped that the work which had been so well begun by the delegates would be continued by them or some other Indian gentlemen. The work they desired to have accomplished would be much more likely to be successfully carried out if they had Indian gentlemen in England to instruct them, for the English people did not care to have their information secondhand, and no Englishman, whatever his knowledge of India, could speak with such authority as a native of India on the affairs of that great country. He trusted that this mission was only the beginning of a series of similar missions. There was a time when India was governed without party bias, but this had all been changed since Lord Beaconsfield's appointment of Lord Lytton. What Lord Randolph Churchill would do they did not know, but there was time for him to repent of some of his errors. The cases of India and Ireland bore a striking similarity in some respects, but there were other respects in which the dissimilarity was great. They had experienced considerable trouble in the case of Ireland because of the policy they had long adopted towards the religion of the majority of the people of Ireland, but in India they had observed a policy of masterly neutrality with regard to religion, and this was fortunate for our rule in India, for whilst we had been strong enough to rule Ireland under these circumstances, we were not strong enough to rule India if the same prejudice had been shown. He rejoiced to know that at

present they had not in India a class which filled the same position in India, as the so-called "friends of England" do in Ireland, though he regretted to see a movement tending in that direction. They had secured to India the blessings of peace, but it was their duty to give them a still greater blessing by teaching them the English art of self-government. Quoting a saying of the Duke of Wellington, on one occasion, that he could neither go forward, go backward, or stand still, he said their case with regard to India was that they could not stand still or go backward, but they could and ought to go forward. Nothing had helped them so much as the mission of the Indian delegates, or would help in the future so much as their return, or the visit of some other gentlemen, to establish the good relations between the peoples of India and England, to the lasting happiness of both. (Cheers.)

Professor THOROLD ROGERS, M.P., said that, considering the comparatively little which the people or England knew of the great country of India, nothing could be more wise than that they should be brought into contact with educated Indian gentlemen, who had come over to instruct them upon the wants of their country and the remedies that should be applied. It was only possible that they should become fully acquainted with these matters by contact with Indians. The only portion of the Indian question with which he was thoroughly acquainted was the Indian Civil Service, in connection with which he had been for many years an examiner. He complained of the great injustice that was done to natives by the unwise policy of Lord Salisbury some years ago, against which he had protested to the utmost of his ability. Having referred to several of the Indians with whom he had been brought in contact as examiner, who were men of great promise, he referred to the fact that he had introduced a deputation to Lord Kimberley when Secretary for India, without any beneficial results being obtained, but towards the latter end of last Session he had obtained from the present Secretary of State for India a promise of inquiry and investigation into the subject. It was, he considered, most important that as many native gentlemen as possible should take part in the civil administration of the country, and he considered that all offices should be open to them. They must begin the work of self-government in India from the top, with the educated classes. With regard to the difference between Tory and Whig officials, he said the Tory was one who makes few promises, but the Whig made a number of fair promises to the ear but breaks them to the hope. (Laughter.)

Dr. CLARK, M.P., said he had long felt considerable interest in the question of Indian reform. With reference to the examinations, he should never be contented till the age was again raised or until the examinations were permitted to take place in India. He considered, however, that a more important question was the physical condition of the people of India, which he considered was a disgrace to them, as Mr. Digby knew. (Cheers.) He then detailed his experiences of what he saw in Madras during 1876-7, when he literally saw people fall down dead from starvation. He attributed this state of things to rack-renting by the British Government, and contrasted the much better state of things existing in the Feudatory States with what existed in such portions of India as were under the direct rule of the British Government. He regretted the defeat of Mr. Lalmohun Ghose at Deptford by the Irish vote, through the exigencies of party politics, and said he should not be at all surprised if Mr. Parnell were to offer Mr. Ghose one of the Irish seats that would shortly be vacant through double returns. Mr. Michael Davitt had said that he would use his influence in that direction, because he considered that the people of India were in a similar position to the people of Ireland, only worse. He hoped that the people of India would organize themselves.

Mr. W. E. BRIGGS spoke of the hearty sympathy which had been evoked by the delegates on their recent visit to Lancashire, and expressed his earnest hope that the work might be carried on.

Mr. MARTIN WOOD having offered a few remarks,

Mr. F. A. CHESSON moved: "That this meeting warmly congratulates the Indian delegates on their visit to England and on the success of their mission, and pledges itself to co-operate with them and their fellow-countrymen in the steps which it may be necessary to take to secure to the Indian people a larger share in the administration of their own country than they enjoy at present." After adverting to the enthusiastic reception which had been given to Mr. Lalmohun Ghose at Deptford, he expressed an opinion that that gentleman would do very valuable work if he would avail himself of the opportunities which would be afforded him in the next few months of interviewing a number of members of Parliament, and interesting them in the affairs of India. This would be a most useful way to spend the interval between now and his obtaining a seat in the House of Commons.

Mr. Wm. DIGBY, C.I.E. (the hon. secretary of the delegation), seconded the motion, and in so doing said that rarely, if ever, had so much success been obtained in so short a time as had been secured by the delegates during their brief visit to this country. He should have been glad, if time had permitted, to have spoken at some length upon the work which the delegates had done, and no one had the same information as himself on this subject. He must be permitted to express his admiration at the self-devotion with which the delegates had undertaken the important duties entrusted to them. There had not been a single meeting they had attended respecting which he had not received letter after letter expressive of the interest and sympathy which had been awakened. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. O'CONNOR POWER supported the resolution, and Messrs. Manomohun Ghose and Ramaswamy Mudaliyar acknowledged the compliment paid to them.

TAKING THE PEOPLE INTO THEIR RULERS' CONFIDENCE.

(Continued from page 298.)

They complained of the way in which the religious and charitable institutions of the Province were managed, and wanted these to be placed under the management of local Committees.

One representative suggested an enactment to prevent the adulteration of food, and another uniformity of weights and measures throughout the Province.

But the subject which excited the greatest interest among the representatives was

A MODIFICATION OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF COLLECTING LAND REVENUE.

The land revenue is now collected in four monthly instalments commencing from December. This is very inconvenient to the ryots, because the harvest not being reaped so early, they are in the mercy of the money-lender, who would take or could receive no other security than the crops in the field, and who thereby realises enormous rate of interest. The ryots therefore wanted that the instalments should run along with the period of the year, when they would have their harvest at their own disposal. This suggestion was received sympathetically by the Dewan and his revenue advisers, and after some deliberation, the request of the ryots was granted on the spot. It was decided that in hilly tracts the first instalment should be collected in February and on the plains in January. The ryots were asked if this decision would satisfy them, and they all replied by a general and loud acclamation. Nothing could illustrate better

THE INFINITE SUPERIORITY OF A SYMPATHETIC AND ENLIGHTENED NATIVE GOVERNMENT

in direct touch with the tax-payer. The same subject has been under the consideration of the Madras Government for a number of years, and we believe no satisfactory decision has been arrived at; whereas

THE GOVERNMENT OF MYSORE DECIDED THE QUESTION WITHIN A FEW MINUTES,

without all that circumlocution, hesitation, and doubt characterising Anglo-Indian procedure in these matters. The people understand the Government, and the Government understands the people thoroughly, and any want or grievance has only be brought to the notice of the Government, which grants dress promptly and cheerfully.

Nor was the advantage of direct popular representation felt in this matter alone. In matters relating to religious and social institutions, the Representative Assembly is likely soon to make its influence felt. Several members complained that many *Matadhepadhies* (heads of religious houses) were wasting their large endowments in vain and demoralising ways and that they should be compelled to establish schools within their jurisdiction. It was said that one or two of these *Matadhepadhies* were willing to adopt this suggestion. The Dewan approved of the idea and promised that he would communicate with these persons in view to something being done in the direction indicated. We dare say that within a year or two these large endowments would be diverted, if not altogether, at least to a considerable extent, to objects of real public utility. Among the representatives there would appear to be social reformers and these urged that Mysore, being a Hindu State, its rulers were not hampered in the same way that Anglo-Indian rulers were, and they should take some definite and decisive steps in advance.

It was suggested that the Age of Consent Act should be introduced in the Mysore Province, infant marriages should be prohibited, and likewise the marriage of a man of forty and over with a young girl.

Another member declaimed against the iniquity of selling girls on pretence of getting them married, a practice which was opposed to shastraic injunctions as well as humanity and parental duty.

The reformers were not, of course, left unchallenged. There is

A CONSERVATIVE AS WELL AS A LIBERAL SECTION IN THE ASSEMBLY,

and this conservative party denounced all interference on the part of the Government, urged that existing practices were in accordance with Shastras and that a man of forty wishing to perform *yagnam* and so forth should have a wife, without whom these rites become fruitless. A moderate liberal suggested a compromise and said that *Matadhepadhies* and Pandits should be consulted and their sanction obtained before any step was taken in the direction of reform.

Of course, to the cautious statesman that presides over the Government of Mysore, the reformer's bill of fare was too strong, and while pleading for greater deliberation and more prolonged discussion in this matter of the utmost importance, he admitted that the marriage of young girls by others than actual parents, to men of advanced age, was a public evil which the State might well interfere to remedy. The Dewan was not prepared to advise the Government to interfere in other social evils brought to the consideration of the Assembly. The decision, of course, showed more caution than patriotism.